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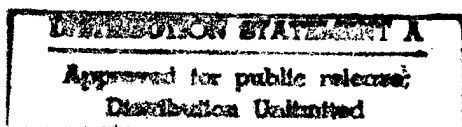
Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 1, January 1985

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24 April 1985

SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

VIETNAM

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No. 1, January 1985

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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STRENGTHENING OUR RESOLVE TO SUCCESSFULLY FULFILL THE 1985 SOCIO-ECONOMIC PLAN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 85 pp 1-8

[Editorial]

[Text] The year 1984 was a year of many stern challenges: one natural disaster after another struck virtually every region of the country; the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists intensified their war of encroachment along the northern border while stepping up their wide-ranging war of sabotage; and the difficulties we encountered with energy, imported materials and foreign currency were worse than in previous years. However, under party leadership, our people and armed forces made steadfast efforts, overcame these difficulties and continued to march steadily forward. We partly defeated the wide-ranging war of sabotage of the Chinese reactionaries, maintained political security, firmly defended the northern border and brought about important, encouraging changes on the economic front, especially after the adoption of the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee.

Agricultural production continued to develop well. Despite unfavorable weather, which caused significant losses, grain output still rose by some 300,000 tons compared to 1983. Deserving of attention is the fact that, prior to 1981, increases in grain output were mainly the result of increases in the amount of area under cultivation but, since 1981, these increases have been primarily due to multicropping, intensive cultivation, increased yields and changing the structure of the seasons by expanding the cultivation of winter-spring rice and summer-fall rice. Livestock production, industrial crop production, the cultivation and harvesting of marine products and the forest products industry developed well.

Within industry, despite many difficulties with energy, supplies and raw materials, many enterprises displayed initiative and creativity, established cooperation and economic ties with other units and, as a result, continued to develop their production. The value of industrial output rose by 7.5 percent. Deserving of attention is the fact that many advances were made in state-operated industry, especially on the central level. The production of some important industrial products increased significantly compared to 1983.

Within communications and transportation, efforts were focused on weak areas, important products and important transportation routes. The volume of

transportation increased considerably. In capital construction, more efforts were focused on the key projects of the state. Many projects were constructed at the required rate and put into use on schedule, thereby yielding returns from investment capital.

Much progress was made in procurement work and the effort to control the sources of goods, especially in the procurement of grain and the other types of agricultural products. Exports increased, although still slowly.

The agricultural cooperativization movement in the provinces of Nam Bo was accelerated. As a result of determined and concerted guidance, many changes occurred in the large cities and many localities of the country in the socialist reform of private industry and commerce, the strengthening and expansion of socialist commerce and the improvement of market management.

Many efforts and much progress were made in scientific and technical activities, in education, culture, public health and social work.

The initial improvements to the economic management system embodied in a number of new positions and policies had the effect of stimulating the development of production. More and more new factors and good models emerged within the localities and basic units. Recent facts show that we can bring about a strong change in our socio-economic life by thoroughly understanding and concretizing the correct line of the party in the form of a rational economic structure and an appropriate management system that vigorously uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people at each installation, within each locality and within each sector and mobilize the strengths of the entire country.

However, besides the advances mentioned above, our country's economy continues to experience many difficulties and imbalances. The socio-economic situation is not stable. The rate of economic growth in 1984 was slower than it was during the years from 1981 to 1983. Agricultural production is unstable. Grain production is unstable. Industrial production has not developed uniformly. Within industry, productivity, product quality and efficiency are low and the waste of materials and energy is increasing, as a result of which production costs are higher than in previous years. Market prices continue to undergo complex changes. The budget and cash situation is not normal. The people, especially cadres, manual workers and the armed forces, continue to encounter many difficulties in their daily lives and their standard of living is unstable. Negative phenomena within the economy and society have not been stopped.

The above situation is due to many causes, among which the objective causes continue to be our very weak material-technical bases; the serious shortage of energy, materials and foreign currency; repeated natural disasters; and the enemy's intensification of their wide-ranging sabotage. However, it is also due to shortcomings on our part, chief among which are: the continued prevalence of bureaucracy, subsidization, conservative thinking and inertia despite the inroads made against them in economic management and planning; the slowness with which we have revised old policies that are no longer suitable and promulgated new policies, especially policies regarding prices, wages and

the monetary system; the fact that not much has been done to restructure production and the failure to truly change and improve planning. Organizational and cadre work have been improved slowly and the efforts made to strengthen and restructure the organization, streamline the apparatus and properly assign cadres have not met the requirements involved in improving and building the new management system. We are not dealing with persons who lie, submit inaccurate reports, engage in embezzlement or are wasteful in a truly strict or timely manner and have yet to wage a determined struggle to eradicate things that reflect a poor sense of organization and discipline, reflect localism. Despite some improvements, guidance and management continue to be an area of weakness.

The situation surrounding our country's revolution at this point in time demands that positive, strong and comprehensive change occur in our socio-economic construction and development with a view toward fulfilling the tasks set forth by the 5th Congress of the Party.

The year 1985 occupies a very important position. It is the final year of the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan. At the same time, it is the year during which preparations will be made for the 1986-1990 plan. We must endeavor to achieve the four socio-economic goals and the primary norms set by the 5th Congress, stabilize the economy and develop it in accordance with the line and policies of the party. We must urgently promote the various jobs involved in preparing for the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan: reviewing the implementation of the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan, outlining our long-term socio-economic strategy, preparing investments in capital construction, coordinating our plans with the CEMA member countries, with Laos and Cambodia and building and developing the new management system in order to stimulate the strong development of the national economy while making good preparations from the standpoint of organization and cadres.

The thinking behind and contents of the resolution of the 5th National Congress of the Party and the basic views set forth in the resolutions of the 6th and 7th Plenums of the Party Central Committee must be fully understood and be fully expressed within the 1985 state plan, among which the most important matters are:

We must continue to consider agricultural production to be the front of foremost importance, especially grain and food production. The production of domestic consumer goods and export goods must be developed more strongly. At the same time, we must strengthen the key heavy industrial installations supporting agriculture and the consumer goods industry to insure the development of an industrial-agricultural structure and insure that industry plays an increasing role in stimulating the development of agricultural production and the production of consumer and export goods.

Stabilizing and somewhat improving the standard of living of the people, most importantly the standard of living of cadres, manual workers, troops and public security forces, must be considered our first objective. At the same time, we must endeavor to increase the formation of capital so that we can continue to build the material-technical bases of socialism.

We must be determined to virtually complete the socialist reform of agriculture in Nam Bo and the socialist reform of private industry and commerce throughout the country through suitable forms of organization and stages of development based on the guideline of coordinating reform and construction, with primary emphasis upon construction. We must solidify and strengthen the socialist economy.

We must coordinate the economy with the national defense system and vice versa, meet the requirements involved in strengthening the national defense and security systems and wage an effective struggle to defeat the wide-ranging war of sabotage of the enemy while strengthening the northern border provinces and districts in every respect and maintaining our readiness to deal with every situation.

One very important position that has been taken by the party in order to bring about a change in the situation is to continue to improve the management system by adopting, the sooner the better, specific, positive policies designed to eliminate bureaucracy, subsidization, conservatism, inertia, liberalism, the lack of organization and the lack of discipline, put everything under accounting and socialist business practices and vigorously tap the initiative and creativity of the various levels and sectors, especially the basic units, while considering productivity, quality and efficiency to be the foremost standards by which production and business operations are evaluated. Decisions must be issued that clearly distinguish between the administrative-economic management functions of the state agencies and the business functions of economic units.

Distribution and circulation are a front of vital importance. In 1985, we must successfully implement throughout the country the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee concerning the state gaining control over the market, unifying the management of grain, strategic materials and essential goods and wiping out the black market, speculation and smuggling. Well coordinated, sound solutions must be found to the pressing problems posed by prices, wages, financial activities and the monetary system:

We must make changes and improvements to planning. Plans must be realistic and sound, must be balanced with existing material resources and based on actively developing the four different sources of supply that exist. Determined efforts must be focused on elements of key importance; at the same time, all sectors, areas and basic units must be developed in a uniform and balanced manner. We must endeavor to achieve a higher rate of development and higher economic efficiency. To successfully implement the state plan, we must tap the spirit of self-reliance, tap the spirit of collective ownership of the working people, launch vigorous revolutionary movements among them, mobilize the combined forces of the state and the people and encourage the basic units, localities and sectors to develop each potential that lies in their labor, arable land, trades and existing material bases as best possible, expand their cooperation and economic ties and increase their exports and imports in order to establish balance between targets and the measures taken to achieve them.

We must practice thorough frugality in the formulation and implementation of plans, make use of scientific-technological advances and attach equal

importance to quantitative targets and qualitative standards. We must rapidly increase our output and raise the returns from investments, labor productivity and product quality.

On the basis of having a thorough understanding of the basic views set forth above, we must focus our efforts on the following primary areas of pressing importance in order to accelerate the development of the economy.

In agriculture, grain production continues to be the number one focus of attention, continues to be of decisive significance in socio-economic stability and development. Extensive efforts must be made to produce 19 million tons of grain, in paddy equivalent. We must open additional land to grain cultivation in areas where conditions permit, establish high yield rice and subsidiary food crop areas and raise the coefficient of cropland use and the uniformity of yields even more, especially in Nam Bo. We must provide a full supply of fertilizer, pesticides and other necessary materials and plant crops on schedule, especially in the key rice growing areas.

We must do a good job of mobilizing grain and adopt correct policies to insure that the state controls the vast majority of commodity grain and with a view toward achieving the exclusive management of grain by the state. Providing a stable supply of grain to the armed forces, to the industrial centers and large cities in the North is the common responsibility of the entire country. We must practice frugality in the consumption of grain and combat the misappropriation and waste of grain.

The production of annual industrial crops, especially soybeans, peanuts, beans, sesame, tobacco, sugarcane, jute and so forth, must be increased. As regards perennial industrial crops, investments must first be focused on practicing intensive cultivation on all land now under cultivation. At the same time, we must expand the cultivation of perennial industrial crops and attach full importance to economic efficiency.

We must accelerate the development of livestock production, give more attention to selecting and supplying good breeding stock, build a stable feed base, expand the veterinary network, restore and develop collective and state-operated livestock production and organize and strongly encourage household livestock production.

As regards marine products, we must intensify ocean fishing and take positive steps to increase the amount of area being used to cultivate brackish water shrimp and fish while making full use of fresh water and intensively cultivating fresh water fish in all areas of the country.

As regards forestry, a policy and organization must be established that enable us to quickly cover bare ground and barren hills with vegetation. We must plant forests or allow forests to regrow under the guideline of coordinating agriculture and forestry. We must stop the destruction of the forests and carry out the assignment of land and forests to cooperatives and farmers.

With regard to production relations, we must accelerate the establishment of agricultural and marine product production collectives and cooperatives in the

South, strengthen those now in existence there and virtually complete agricultural cooperativization in Nam Bo by the end of 1985.

Within the field of industry, every existing source of materials, equipment, science, technology, capital and so forth must be developed so that we can achieve a higher rate of industrial growth than in 1984.

The food products industry and the essential consumer goods industry must be strongly developed. As regards the coal sector, which is currently in a state of decline, efforts must be concentrated on meeting, in a well coordinated manner, the requirements that exist with regard to material-technical bases and the improvement of management so that production can be quickly restored and developed. We must develop the production of electric power, accelerate the exploration and development of petroleum and natural gas and develop the production of machinery, metals, building materials and chemicals, especially fertilizer and pesticides.

More of the capacity of state-operated installations must be utilized. At the same time, we must strengthen material-technical bases, create additional sources of raw materials, strengthen the management system and amend policies in order to encourage the development of small industry and handicraft production. We must organize good economic ties and joint businesses and utilize existing capabilities to raise industrial output.

The practice of economy must be established through a system of material consumption ceilings and many different measures must be employed to constantly raise product quality, especially the quality of export goods.

In communications-transportation and post-telecommunications, the socialist system of business must be established so that we can make the highest possible use of equipment. Policies must be adopted that encourage collective rudimentary transport units and encourage utmost frugality in the use of gasoline while insuring that the minimum transportation needs of the economy, the national defense system and the people are met. We must improve the quality and increase the number of information and post-telecommunication activities supporting production, everyday life, the maintenance of security and national defense.

As regards capital construction, the investment capital allocated for 1985 is equal to the amount allocated for 1984 but must be utilized more efficiently. To accomplish this, it is necessary to make careful calculations and establish a list of priorities, a list of what should be done first and what last so that we are fully capable of achieving what we set out to achieve and can resolve the key, most pressing problems faced at this time while building momentum for development in every area under the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan. In this spirit, the decision must be made to postpone projects and project items that are not truly necessary or will yield returns slowly. Special importance must be attached to investments in intensive development, to supplementing and coordinating what exists now so that we can make full use of existing capacity and eliminate waste in capital construction. Very much importance must be attached to project quality.

As regards the overseas economy and exports-imports, we must endeavor to rapidly increase the value of our exports and insure the quality of export goods. In the immediate future, investments must focus on the development of export goods that are the mainstay of our export activities.

Policies must be adopted that encourage the production and procurement of these main export goods, that strongly encourage the sectors, localities and businesses to export and import goods under the exclusive state management of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Foreign Trade Bank. We must continue to restructure the export organizations and export activities.

We must expand our economic cooperation with the CEMA member countries and expand the practical and effective economic ties that exist among the three countries of Indochina. We must expand our cooperation with and seek credit from the socialist countries and other countries as well as international economic organizations. A more generous policy must be adopted to attract foreign capital.

In the field of distribution and circulation, of most decisive importance is the need for the state to strengthen its management of and control the market. We must expand the socialist commerce system. In particular, determined efforts must be made to establish the state's monopoly in strategic materials and its exclusive management of grain and essential consumer goods.

Prices and wages-financial affairs-monetary activities are pressing problems that are directly related to production and business and must be resolved in a well coordinated and urgent fashion. This is an extremely complex issue, one concerning which we must take positive steps but proceed with caution. In the immediate future, the state must take appropriate measures to maintain the standard of living. It must make every effort to provide a full and timely supply of rationed goods to troops, public security forces, manual workers and cadres and effectively look after the living conditions of the working people.

As regards prices, we must continue to implement the resolutions of the 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee. The sectors, levels and production-business units must look for every way to maintain and develop production and must maintain strict state price discipline. They are prohibited from using differences that exist in prices for the same goods to earn an illegitimate profit.

The commerce sector must grow to the point where it controls all wholesale sales and the vast majority of retail sales and the services while tightly managing the supply of materials and goods from the state.

In financial and banking activities, there must be a leap forward in our efforts to rapidly increase the sources of budget revenues and cash. Many suitable policies and measures must be enacted to mobilize surplus capital within society and sources of foreign currency. An effort must be made to reduce the cash deficit to the lowest possible level.

The financial, credit and monetary policies of the state must be amended and new ones must be adopted in order to correctly implement accounting and

socialist business principles and establish the financial independence of the basic unit.

The bank must cease paying subsidies, institute socialist business practices in its operations, improve its credit and payment regulations, policies and procedures and develop the credit cooperatives and other forms of credit.

We must continue to carry out the policy of redistributing the labor force and population on a nationwide scale in accordance with rational planning and plans. Specific policies and measures must be adopted to meet the daily needs of those persons who go to build new economic zones.

We must look for every possible way to provide jobs to the unemployed and strengthen labor discipline. A determined effort must be made to streamline the apparatus and reduce the size of staffs. We must adopt a positive plan and measures to limit the rate of population growth and urgently promulgate a population policy.

In scientific-technical work, we must accelerate the key, state-level scientific research programs and attach importance to research projects supporting agriculture, the primary industrial sectors, communications-transportation and construction.

In education, it is necessary to carry out the educational reform program well, improve the overall quality of training and attach special importance to teaching politics and ethics, providing occupational counselling and teaching national defense subjects in a manner closely coordinated with work and production. We must continue to restructure the network of colleges, middle schools and trade schools and improve the way that students are selected.

Cultural and art as well as information and propaganda activities must be promoted with a view toward building the emulation movements to work, produce and practice frugality, to maintain combat readiness and fight well, to combat each scheme of sabotage of the enemy, to build the new, socialist lifestyle, to struggle against superstitious customs and social ills and to eradicate the decadent, reactionary culture. The physical culture and sports movement must be widely developed, especially among youths and teenagers.

We must strengthen the existing public health network and promote the maintenance of epidemic and disease prevention sanitation. We must unify the management of important drugs, step up the production of medicine and expand out-patient care for the people. We must look after the needs of disabled veterans, the families of war dead, persons who have served the revolution and retired workers and cadres.

We must establish good coordination between the economy and national defense system and mobilize the strengths of the entire country to meet the needs of the army in order to increase its fighting strength and raise its level of combat readiness. In conjunction with the army promoting productive labor for the purpose of meeting some of its daily needs on its own, it is necessary to

plan the gradual buildup and development of the national defense industry while mobilizing a portion of the army's manpower to participate in economic construction.

To insure that the guidelines and tasks of the 1985 socio-economic plan are carried out well, the following several things must be done:

First, we must revise or quickly promulgate a number of economic management policies and regulations. We must be determined to rid ourselves of bureaucracy and subsidization, place all operations under accounting and socialist business principles and truly increase the independence of the locality and basic unit while insuring centralized, unified management by the central level.

We must organize the full implementation of the resolution of the 7th Plenum of the Party Central Committee on building the districts and strengthening the district level, considering this to be one of the most important measures in guaranteeing the successful implementation of the state plan for 1985 and subsequent years.

Secondly, we must take thorough and strict measures to establish the practice of economy, to combat misappropriation and waste, to prevent and make inroads against negative phenomena within each field. This is an issue of great economic and social significance, is a major policy of the party and state and is also a very important measure in safeguarding the revolutionary qualities and virtues of cadres, party members and state personnel. To achieve good results, plans must be adopted to organize and closely guide these efforts and develop them into a widespread mass movement.

Thirdly, we must make bold improvements to our organizational work and cadre work. This is a measure of decisive significance. We must restructure our apparatus and eliminate those components that make the organization cumbersome and play no effective role. We must be determined to streamline the administrative apparatus from the central to the basic levels. The functions of some sectors must be adjusted to be consistent with the requirements involved in changing and improving the management system.

We must adopt a new outlook in order to correctly evaluate the qualities and skills of cadres. Urgent steps must be taken to train cadres so that we can meet the requirements of eliminating subsidization and instituting accounting and business practices. We must discover, utilize and promote cadres who have been trained, are experienced and think and work in a way that is well suited to the new management system. We must be determined to replace leadership and management cadres who are conservative, incompetent and lack the necessary personal qualities. Harsh disciplinary action must be taken by the party and state against cadres and personnel who commit serious shortcomings.

Fourthly, the party's teaching of politics and its work among the masses must be intensified in order to build strong revolutionary movements of the masses. To win victory in every area, we must tap the spirit of collective ownership of the people and their desire to display self-reliance and overcome every difficulty. All sectors and levels must give everyone a clear understanding

of the country's situation, a clear understanding of his or her responsibility and obligations so that everyone displays initiative and activism in their work or production and helps to bring about new changes in the economy and society.

Fifthly, the implementation of the state plan must be guided more closely. In the process of providing this guidance, while attaching importance to economic, administrative, legal and educational measures, it is mainly economic measures that must be employed. The agencies of the party and state on the central level must concretize and codify the decisions of the Central Committee in the form of specific policies and regulations in order to guide the various levels in complying with these decisions. At the same time, they must keep abreast of what the localities and basic units are doing, conduct increased inspections, closely observe new ways of working, develop upon innovations by the lower levels, promptly make good experiences widely known, promptly correct mistakes, reach prompt and clear conclusions concerning right and wrong and fully review the implementation of party policies.

The year 1985 marks the 55th anniversary of the birth of our party, the 10th anniversary of the victory over the United States and the liberation of the South and the 40th anniversary of the founding of our state and is also the concluding year of our country's second 5-year plan. To celebrate these important dates in the history of our party and nation, let our entire party, our entire army and all our people develop upon the gains that have been made by the revolution, display high determination and make every effort to bring about new changes in production, to stabilize the socio-economic situation, stabilize living conditions and advance to even larger victories in the work of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland.

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BUILDING OUR SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 85 pp 9-13

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Every society has its own way of life.

Immediately following the August Revolution in 1945, Uncle Ho appealed for the establishment of the "new life." The "new life" movement swept away foolish customs and superstitions, reformed many outmoded practices and led to the gradual establishment of new and beautiful ways of living during the wars of resistance against France and the United States.

Today, our country is independent, free, reunified and advancing to socialism. "In the present stage, objective and subjective conditions permit us to begin to create a society that is beautiful from the standpoint of its way of life and inter-personal relations, a society in which the working people feel that they are living a happy life, even though their material standard of living is still not high." (1) This happiness lies in "gradually becoming the master of society, the master of nature, the master of oneself, lies in everyone working and fighting for the development of the social community so that everyone is well fed, well clothed and leads a happy and wholesome life, a life of equality and harmony amidst voluntary labor, love and reason, lies in everyone being allowed to fully develop their personality, talents and abilities within a relationship of harmony among the individual, the family and society, a relationship that fulfills the ideal 'one for all, all for one.'" (2)

Thus, even in the initial stage of this period of transition, our party, along with establishing the socialist mode of production, has raised the issue of building Vietnam's socialist way of life--a way of life of working and exercising collective ownership, one that exemplifies the love and reason of persons who have been liberated from all oppression and exploitation in order to achieve their full and harmonious development.

Maintaining our territorial integrity, our freedom and living with a pure soul within a wholesome body, it is our desire to live the life of peaceful labor of persons who are the collective masters of their country. Through voluntary and loyal labor, through organized, disciplined, technical and highly productive labor, we seek to satisfy the needs of man more fully with each

passing day, his material as well as spiritual needs, his consumer as well as creative needs. Today, because we are still encountering many difficulties in our material life, we must first focus our efforts on the production and distribution-circulation front to insure that everyone is well fed and well clothed, that everyone has a home, has access to transportation, medicine and so forth. However, at the same time, we are still constantly concerned with the richness of spiritual life, with the purity of thinking and virtues, with the growth and development of character. And when, at some point in the future, material needs are being satisfied to some extent, we will attach even more importance to spiritual needs, which are boundless. Because, we realize that man gives evidence of his existence in life not through what he enjoys, but through what he creates, through his social worth, through what he contributes. Moreover, it is only when this creativity, this social worth, this need to contribute become an internal need does man's life truly assume noble meaning.

We seek to live within the most beautiful of social relations--socialist relations--between one person and another, from within the family to out in society. Collective ownership is the dominant aspect of socialist relations; at the same time, it is the most important feature of our socialist way of life. On the basis of collective ownership of the means of production, collective ownership exercised within production, distribution, circulation and consumption, the relations between persons here are essentially cooperation and mutual assistance, oneness between the collective and the individual and concern first for the interests of the community, as a result of which the interests of each individual within the community are also satisfied. Here, the principle that applies is "one for all and all for one." Everyone who is able to work, works. Everyone has the same rights and obligations. Everyone respects public property and the law. Everyone loves and respects one another, sincerely wishes the best for one another, helps one another in times of difficulty and misfortune, cares for the elderly and children and respects women. The bonds between father and son, husband and wife, brothers and sisters, neighbors, colleagues, compatriots and comrades, all deeply reflect the new socialist interpersonal relations, all deeply reflect the Marxist-Leninist view of the nature of man, a view that is very close to our nation's long tradition of a caring community.

We seek to live a spiritual cultural life that is rich, that develops on the basis of the traditional values that the nation has held since antiquity and the traditional values of the revolution over the past half-century and more. The advancement of material culture within our society today must go hand in hand with the comprehensive development of Vietnamese socialist spiritual culture. With the proletarian dictatorship state controlling all of the most important means of "spiritual production," each and every worker will achieve an increasingly high cultural standard. Our working people, once force-fed the reactionary, slave culture of the imperialists and feudalists, are becoming persons who both enjoy and create the new culture, are becoming the "subjects" who are building and developing the new, socialist culture. They are persons who subscribe to beautiful ideals, persons who possess broad knowledge, abundant tactical skills, pure qualities and virtues and wholesome tastes, persons who are always optimistic and confident in their ability, in the victory of the revolution.

With the development of our material life as well as our spiritual life, each one of us will be able to fully develop our intellect, abilities, talent and character in harmony with the rest of society.

During the past several years, we have begun to give attention to building the new, socialist way of life throughout the country. While laying the material and cultural foundations of the socialist way of life in our country and establishing the basic substance and characteristics of the socialist way of life, we have been promoting campaigns to establish the new lifestyle, each of which reflects one specific practice that is being made the standard, being made the rule in order to become a stable part of our socialist way of life. Many achievements have been recorded. They bring to light examples of bravery and dedication in work and combat and reflect the boundless love and the noble reason of the new persons who are exercising collective ownership on the production front and organizing and managing life in the rear area as well as at the forward positions fighting the enemy along the border. In the face of difficulties, the socialist way of life continues to appeal to the vast majority of our cadres and people. In the field of specific lifestyles, "many provinces and municipalities have taken practical steps to promote the campaign. They have begun to establish a number of new wedding and funeral rights, reform old customs and habits, establish new customs and habits, establish families of the new culture."(3)

However, due to many objective and subjective reasons, especially lax economic and cultural management, many increasingly serious negative phenomena have developed within society and many changes deserving of concern are occurring in our way of life. Our material standard of living is still low and the burden of daily life is becoming an increasingly heavy burden to honest, diligent and brave persons. Socialist values have yet to display their inherent power and impact. While the majority of our people continue to work and fight hard and retain their revolutionary qualities, one element of society shows signs of serious regression. These persons lead a pragmatic style of life, a life of selfish individualism with no sense of social responsibility, no sense of discipline, a life of laziness, thievery and decadence. Even among our youths and teenagers there is an element that feels no need for a reason to live, no need for ideals. They do not like to talk about molding themselves in the image of the new man, about the fundamental aspects of a person's character, such as work, love and reason. They are unconcerned with the country's situation, with the obligations of the ordinary citizen. The number of youths and teenagers breaking the laws is increasing. More than a few fine habits and lifestyles are gradually disappearing. Backward customs, foolish superstitions, gambling...are spreading.

As the resolution of the 4th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee observed: "On the cultural and social front, our working people are, generally speaking, maintaining and enhancing their fine qualities, displaying bravery in work and combat, enduring hardships and difficulties. However, one element of society, an element that includes some working people, some manual workers, youths, cadres and party members, is showing signs of serious moral decay and corruption of their way of life: they are lazy, are careless and sloppy in their work, steal, speculate, engage in black marketing, earn their livings in illegal ways, chase after money and live a life of luxury, live a

degenerate life. The influence of the reactionary, decadent culture of imperialism and neo-colonialism has yet to be swept away. The corrupt customs and bad practices of their old society are being brought back to life at many places. Generally speaking, the socialist way of life has yet to become universally established within our society." The directive on the new lifestyle that was issued by the Party Secretariat on 25 October 1984 also stressed: "However, the campaign to establish the new lifestyle is still not widespread or well coordinated. The results that have been achieved are still low. The party organizations, government organizations and mass organizations at many places are not closely leading nor are they truly concerned with organizing the new way of life, with establishing new customs and habits. They are not vigilant against enemy sabotage on the ideological, cultural and social front. There is no coordination between the sectors and localities for the purpose of performing this work well at basic units. The old way of life, old customs and habits are still widespread. The reactionary, decadent culture has yet to be swept away. Corrupt customs, bad practices, superstitions and other social ills have recently been spreading in some localities."

This situation demands that we be more concerned with and display greater initiative in building our socialist way of life, in establishing the new lifestyle within every field of social life.

The formation of the socialist way of life is governed by its own laws. In the course of establishing the socialist way of life, we must define in scientific and revolutionary terms what the correct relationship is between the material and the spiritual, between the general and the specific (including between the international and the national, between the collective and the individual), between the traditional and the modern, between education and compulsion, between ourselves and the enemy.

Establishing the socialist way of life is a lengthy process because it is closely tied to the building of an entire socialist society. However, it is also work that must be performed each day because we live life one day at a time, because we give definition to our life one day at a time.

Involved here are such basic tasks as organizing and managing all three processes, economic, socio-political and spiritual, that is, successfully establishing all three of the fundamental types of relations in the life of man, his relations with nature, with society and with himself, in a way that is socialist. At the same time, there are specific, immediate jobs to perform, such as reforming and establishing the new way of life in wedding ceremonies and funeral rights, in man's behavior, in his daily contacts with others. To view the establishment of the socialist way of life as consisting of nothing more than style of dress, hairstyle, public order, public sanitation and so forth, as having nothing to do with work and production, with distribution and circulation, with consumer services, with encouraging the people to actively participate in the management of the state and society, with cultivating the present day cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam, the essence of which are the world view of dialectical materialism and the communist philosophy of life, that serve as the standards of our way of life reflect a very shallow understanding of the issue, if not actually

constituting a mistake. However, even the most basic elements of our socialist way of life must gradually become the rule, become the standard, become the etiquette, become the habit, become the ethic in the life of society and the life of the individual, such as the socialist work ethic, the ethic of living with respect for the law and protecting public property, the celebration of new holidays, the ethic of democracy and equality within the family of the new culture, etc. Therefore, as Lenin said: "Only that which has become deeply ingrained in cultural life, in customs and habits can be considered as having been achieved."(4)

The 25 October 1984 Party Secretariat directive on the new lifestyle instructs all levels, sectors and mass organizations to focus their efforts on three jobs of pressing importance: "1) Establish and quickly disseminate a number of suitable models of the new lifestyle in wedding ceremonies, funeral rights and the celebration of death anniversaries and other anniversaries. Make a determined effort to eradicate corrupt customs, bad practices and superstition. 2) Establish a lifestyle of civilized order. Combat the social ills of theft, gambling, the illegal distilling of liquor, opium processing and prostitution. 3) Abolish the remnants of the neo-colonialist, decadent and reactionary cultures." These are also among the matters involved in the establishment of the socialist way of life that were recorded in the proceedings of the 5th Congress and the resolutions of subsequent party plenums. This directive states: "Establishing the new lifestyle and eradicating corrupt customs, bad practices and superstitions are an important part of the ideological and cultural revolution to mold the new, socialist man, the master of society whose style of life is wholesome, progressive and civilized. The campaign to establish the new lifestyle is closely associated with the struggle against the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage..." Raised in this light, our understanding of the specific details, of the pressing, immediate requirements of the socialist way of life, our understanding of the lifestyles that must be eliminated or established becomes very clear.

In view of Vietnam's specific circumstances, we must always remember that the process of establishing the socialist way of life, in general, as well as establishing each specific lifestyle is the process of sharp and complex struggle between the new and the old, between ourselves and the enemy. We must triumph over the tremendous inertia, the "frightful strength" of the old and backward lifestyles, customs and habits. We cannot relax our efforts for one moment and must take the initiative in the struggle against the malicious sabotage of the enemy within the field of lifestyle. We must triumph, too, over the "culture and lifestyle war" that is being waged in the world and spreading toward our country.

Establishing the socialist way of life is not only the responsibility of the cultural sector, even though it plays the role of foremost importance. Rather, under the leadership of the party, "each sector of society has the responsibility of establishing the socialist way of life among the working people in labor and work, in spiritual activities and social relations."(5) The 25 October 1985 Party Secretariat directive on the new lifestyle also instructs all party organizations, government organizations and mass organizations to truly concern themselves with this work, to gain the participation of every person and create a truly widespread mass movement.

Every party, government and mass organization, every unit and even every individual within our society must, from the standpoint of lifestyle, manage themselves on the basis of socialist values. Let us heartily praise bright examples of socialist virtues and the socialist way of life. Let us harshly denounced all those who live an inconsiderate, ugly and vile life, all those who live a lie by saying the right thing, even giving classroom instruction in lifestyle to others but who, in their own everyday behavior, are very selfish, seek only to better their own interests and "live only for themselves." Let us prosecute under the law all those who break the law. Here as well as in every other field, the example set by each cadre, party member and Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union member is very important. They, more than anyone else, must be new, socialist persons, must be the personification of the new, socialist way of life. They "must set the example in complying with the regulations of the party and state, in practicing the new lifestyle, in combating superstition and eradicating corrupt customs and bad practices, considering this to be a specific standard of the party member, the Youth Union member."(6)

We must work toward the goal of everyone living a beautiful life within a society whose way of life is beautiful.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume 1, p 93.
2. Ibid.
3. Party Secretariat directive on the campaign to establish the new lifestyle, eradicate corrupt customs, bad practices and superstition, abolish social ills and wipe out reactionary, decadent culture (25 October 1984).
4. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 45, p 443.
5. Resolution of the 4th Party Plenum.
6. Party Secretariat directive on the campaign to establish the new lifestyle...

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STRIVING FOR THE GREATEST POSSIBLE VICTORY FOR THE 1985 STATE PLAN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 85 pp 14-22

[Article by Vo Van Kiet]

[Text] Some Aspects of the 1984 Socio-Economic Situation Deserving of Attention

In 1984, in addition to the shortages of capital, materials, petroleum products and consumer goods, natural disasters struck all three regions of the country: flooding and waterlogging in the North and the South and typhoons, flooding and tornadoes in the central region, causing destruction that equalled or exceeded the destruction experienced in the years of worst natural disasters. Due to flooding, pests, prolonged cold weather and tornadoes, 5th month-spring paddy output fell by about 170,000 tons and 10th month output declined by 600,000 to 700,000 tons. Much equipment and many storehouses were damaged, roads, power lines, bridges, sluices, houses and schools were damaged and boats were lost. Estimates placed the destruction in the tens of billions of dong. In addition, the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage together with their war of encroachment along the northern border placed additional strains upon our already seriously imbalanced economy. As regards the standard of living, although the party and state made every effort to compensate for the drop in real wages to maintain the standard of living of wage earners, because we were lax in promoting socialist reforms, we failed to gain control over the flow of money and goods and were unable to manage the market and prices. Prices rose to unreasonable levels and are still rising, thus causing the armed forces, workers and civil servants to encounter many difficulties in their daily lives, difficulties that they normally would not experience, and giving rise to many negative phenomena within society.

However, despite the difficulties mentioned above, grain output still rose by some 300,000 tons in 1984 compared to 1983. Considerable development occurred in the planting of industrial crops, afforestation, livestock production and the harvesting of marine products. The production of a number of important industrial products (except coal) increased. Industrial output rose 7.5 percent in value. Exports rose by 3 percent. Domestic transportation increased by 6 percent. National income rose by 5.5 percent. Science and technology, education, training, cultural activities, public health services and social work continued to develop. The distinguishing aspect of the

situation was that the final 6 months of the year, which occurred under difficult circumstances, were also 6 months of intense efforts to overcome the aftereffects of the natural disasters, maintain security within society and complete as much of the plan as possible. The resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee, which helped to build new momentum and led to the emergence of many models of new ways of working, began to tap the initiative and creativity of the sectors, localities and basic units in the development of the country's internal potentials, thereby helping to step up production and stabilize everyday life. Encouraging results began to be achieved in the reform of private industry and commerce, the restructuring of production and the management of the market at key places in practically all provinces.

--The value of industrial output increased by 20 percent during the 3rd quarter of 1984 compared to the 3rd quarter of 1983.

--The value of industrial output in October rose 12.6 percent compared to the monthly average during the 3rd quarter, with consumer goods rising by 14.6 percent.

Revenues from taxes and commerce increased.

Construction and assembly work on key capital construction projects rose by 30.2 percent during the 4th quarter (compared to same period in 1983).

--Importance was attached to the restructuring of production within each product sector. Many localities, especially the cities, introduced many new products for domestic consumption and exportation.

--More attention was given to the establishment of economic ties and economic cooperation, especially within the processing industry. This industry's sectors established economic ties with agriculture, forestry and fishing in order to resolve their problems with raw materials and made full use of equipment capacity. As a result, many enterprises managed to provide 25 to 45 percent of their own materials.

On the distribution-circulation front, due to achieving rather good results in our effort to control the flow of goods, better conditions existed for controlling the market and prices. Although the state had to spend a rather large sum of money on cost of living subsidies for wage earners (50 to 70 percent of their wages), provide funds to the areas hardest hit by the natural disasters and spend money on the procurement of a large quantity of agricultural products, prices on the market did not change as much as they did during similar situations in the past. The struggle to maintain price discipline and correctly implement the price policy within state agencies and localities had a positive influence, curbed competition and was an important factor in the achievement mentioned above.

Together with the reform of private commerce, socialist commerce strengthened its forces and began making changes to the way it does business. In some sectors and localities, socialist commerce assumed the dominant role on the social market and the guideline of closely coordinating transformation with

construction and simultaneously taking economic, administrative and educational measures in the process of carrying out transformation was applied better.

However, because of the following shortcomings, the above mentioned results were less than what they could have been:

First, we were slow to concretize the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee in the form of management positions, policies and regulations and did not coordinate our policies and measures as required by the resolution. Although the standing committee of the Council of Ministers has promulgated 20 new policies and regulations on economic management since the issuance of that resolution, the localities and basic units still face much red tape and many outmoded and unreasonable regulations have not been revised, consequently, the localities and basic units are not receiving the strong support they need to take the initiative in developing their capabilities.

Secondly, the central sectors, especially the general sectors, such as the planning, finance, banking and price sectors, should institute changes first in order to stimulate change on the lower levels and bring about uniform and coordinated development of the entire country's economy, but we have yet to do this. The changes and improvements to planning are only on paper and have yet to be implemented on the basic level. All of these shortcomings are obstacles to our progress. Beginning immediately and throughout 1985, serious efforts must be made to correct these shortcomings.

Some Thoughts on the 1985 State Plan

1. Selecting the targets of the 1985 state plan.

We have been facing the same situation for many years now: there are very many needs that must be met but, when examined individually, we find that every need is truly necessary, that every need is urgent. At the same time, we are experiencing shortages of everything, from the primary materials of the economy to ordinary consumer goods to meet the daily needs of the people. Moreover, our meager sources of goods are unstable and unreliable. Things that we need, such as petroleum products, rice, coal, raw materials for paper production, tobacco and so forth, are never immediately available. Our sources of capital and primary materials will be no larger in 1985 than they were in 1984. And, while suffering the direct consequences of 1984, we must complete the remaining work involved in meeting the targets set by our party's 5th Congress. This is not to mention the fact that 1985 is also the year in which good preparations must be made for the start of the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan. Therefore, it is a matter of special importance that the main targets for 1985 meet practical requirements and be consistent with our capabilities.

Our party's 5th National Congress of Delegates set four targets, the most important one being "stabilizing and improving the standard of living." The Political Bureau Conference held in late 1983 also confirmed the urgent nature of the living standards issue--especially the standard of living of wage earners--considering it to be an issue of vital importance on which efforts

must be focused, with the first step being to raise wages during the very first quarter of 1984. The 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee once again confirmed the urgency of this matter. However, despite significant efforts made by us throughout the year to compensate for the cost of living of wage earners, the rate of compensation did not keep pace with the rise in prices. As a result, the real standard of living of wage earners continued to decline and has now emerged as the most pressing issue facing society. In 1985 and the next several years, improving the standard of living will continue to be the number one target. Every effort of planners, policy makers and managers must be directed toward this objective. The guidance provided must consistently lead in this direction. If the standard of living continues to be unstable, it will be difficult to talk about productivity, quality and efficiency in work, even in combat. Production and the standard of living share a close relationship and stimulate each other. Production is the origin of the standard of living. The standard of living is the result of production. However, the standard of living does have a positive and reciprocal impact upon production. Therefore, stabilizing the standard of living is a requirement in developing production, a requirement in implementing the fundamental economic law of socialism.

In view of our country's present social conditions, stabilizing the standard of living also serves as a main stimulus to development, not only the development of production, but also the development of social processes. If, in 1985, we create the conditions for wage-earners and troops to enjoy a relatively stable standard of living--mainly through their wages and subsidies--we can also generate a new excitement that will have an impact upon the enthusiasm with which we work, produce and fight and gradually rid ourselves of the negative phenomena that torment each of us every hour of every day.

In 1985, the standard of living is the "decisive issue." If we resolve this issue, we will lay the groundwork for resolving many other issues. It is on this key issue that we must focus our intelligence, forces, measures and efforts. We must be decisive and resolute in the guidance we provide. If we fail to be decisive at this point in time, we will become deeply mired in confusion, find ourselves on the defensive and have to pay a heavier price with each day that passes. However, emphasizing this number one target does not mean demanding a standard of living that exceeds the ability of our economy to provide nor does it mean not giving any attention to the other targets, especially the capital construction target of building permanent material-technical bases for socialism. As long as they do not detract from our number one target, the other three targets must be given our maximum effort.

2. The 1985 state plan.

The formulation of the 1985 state plan is being carried out in the spirit of the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee. An improvement compared to the way that things were done previously is that the plan is, to a certain extent, being put together from the lower level upward, thereby giving a more accurate reflection of the needs of the locality and sector. The localities and basic units have made significant efforts in

formulating the plans of their units but these new plans are mainly balanced only on the basis of the sources of capital and supplies of the central level. The other three sources of capital and supplies are either not being tapped at all or only being tapped to a very small degree. In 1985, efforts must be focused on the following:

First, plans must truly be reformulated from the basic unit upward, from the lower level upward and must focus on tapping each source of capital and supplies, on finding every possible additional measure that can be taken so that more can be done to balance plans. At the same time, we must look for every possible way to establish economic ties and cooperation so that additional sources of foreign capital can be created, which include repaying debts in order to seek additional money in loans. Official legal norms will be assigned on the basis of the four different sources of capital and supplies but not assigned until the start of the 2nd quarter of 1985.

Secondly, the various party committee echelons, levels of government and sectors must directly guide the formulation of plans. Within this effort, the planning agency must fulfill its function and task of providing instructions, of working with units to formulate, supplement, integrate and balance plans. However, formulating plans from the basic level upward and searching for ways to tap the four different sources of capital and supplies in order to balance plans are mainly the work of the sectors and localities. To draft a good plan for the sector or locality, we must bring together the intelligence of the leadership agency and the agencies in charge of the party and government. Only in this way can the plan truly become the main tool of management within the various sectors and levels, only in this way can we avoid the plan going in one direction and management in another, even in many other directions.

Facts have shown that within those localities and sectors that do this, the plan has a major impact and management is clearly effective.

3. Measures.

To achieve our number one objective of stabilizing and partially improving the people's standard of living, we must take every measure available to us, such as making full use of labor and arable land; increasing the number of days worked and raising labor productivity; making effective use of capital in order to raise national income and generate much wealth for society; providing for good distribution and circulation and strongly implementing population and family planning. These efforts demand well coordinated measures. A specific policy has been adopted concerning the population issue and family planning. Here, we will only touch a number of other important measures:

First, we must practice strict frugality. Our party and state consider frugality to be a national policy. However, in our country today, frugality is nothing more than a "slogan." There are many fields in which standards and quotas (both quantitative and qualitative) have not been established. Numerous inventions, innovations and technological advances have not been put to use. In particular, there is no policy that provides appropriate tangible incentive to practice frugality nor are there any harsh penalties for persons and units that create waste. Our country is still poor, very poor, but we

continue to experience frightful waste. The preliminary estimate of the losses caused by waste in the storage, transportation, distribution and consumption of a few products that was made by the recent scientific conference on combating negative phenomena gives us reason for concern. Our country is still experiencing a shortage of grain yet hundreds of thousands of tons are wasted or lost, are of poor quality or must even be thrown away. The consumption of gasoline is extremely wasteful. If vehicles were used in a sensible way, we could save at least 10,000 tons of gasoline each year. At present, some 20 percent of the electricity transmitted over power lines is lost. If we were to reduce this loss to 2 percent and reduce the consumption of electricity by households, stores, agencies and collective housing projects by 10 percent, we would have an additional 180 million kilowatt hours of electricity at our disposal, the equivalent of some 60,000 tons of gasoline. The cost in foreign currency to buy filters for domestic cigarettes is 2 million dollars per year. Added together, the waste occurring with the various sectors and levels surely amounts to a sizeable figure. Waste in production leads to an increase in production costs and a decline in the purchasing power of wages, as a result of which the standard of living declines. We would create a significant quantity of materials and goods if we were to realize a savings of 10 percent within each field.

Secondly, together with the measures taken to tap the four different sources of capital and supplies, we must look for every way to turn capital over very quickly. Turning the same amount of liquid capital over several additional times raises national income by an equal number of times. Achieving this requires that we operate in a way that is truly dynamic, that we boldly shift away from administrative, bureaucratic management and subsidization to accounting and business practices and do so in a full spirit of responsibility, not only responsibility toward our unit, but toward related units as well. The very slow capital turnover rate in our country has caused a serious decline in economic efficiency. It is due to the slowness with which we operate. When we have goods to sell, we must look for every way to sell them and get our money back. Every effort must be made to avoid situations in which products lie idle within warehouses losing more of their quality with each day that passes and tying up capital at a time when the people lack consumer goods. When we have money, we must look for every way to open sources of goods, to control goods and, in this way, control both the flow of money and the flow of goods so that capital is turned over quickly and goods circulate briskly, as a result of which distribution and circulation have an impact upon and stimulate the development of production and the pace of all other social activities also picks up.

Thirdly, we must be determined to concentrate our investments, giving priority first to investments in agriculture, to successfully resolving the grain problem from the standpoint of the structure of agriculture and gradually forming a diversified agriculture. In 1985, everything possible must be done to provide the pesticides, fertilizer and draft power needed to successfully solve the grain problem (that is, to meet immediate needs and establish grain reserves). We will begin 1985 facing many difficulties with regard to grain. Our country is hit by natural disasters every year. However, never before have we experienced a year such as this in which natural disasters have struck all three regions of the country and each natural disaster disrupted the

entire country's grain supply. Pressured by a kind of war of encroachment being waged along the northern border, we must always be ready to deal with every possible situation. In view of the fact that natural disasters are unavoidable, grain truly becomes a matter of survival to our country. Over the next few years, beginning in 1985, we must look for every way to resolve this extremely urgent grain problem and begin providing a stable supply of grain (both rice and subsidiary food crops). As regards industrial crops in 1985, we must try to carry out the projects that have been approved in order to quickly establish large areas specializing in the production of industrial crops.

As regards industry, we must develop the consumer goods industry more strongly and focus our investments on achieving intensive development and coordination in order to make full use of the capacity of existing factories and quickly produce products that meet present consumer needs. These investments must be made under the guideline of quickly producing products and achieving high returns from investments. Therefore, as long as we are not making full use of existing capacity, the construction of new projects must be carefully weighed.

In heavy industry, appropriate investments must be made in those sectors that are directly related to agriculture, light industry and communications-transportation, such as the electric power sector, the fertilizer sector, the machine sector and so forth and everything possible must be done to increase coal output.

In 1985, we also have the task of investing in cushion projects for the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan, especially energy projects of major importance to the national economy. We must actively prepare for the development of hydroelectric power sources in Central Vietnam and the Central Highlands and an increase in the exploration and development of petroleum and natural gas. Urgent preparations must be made for investing in an oil refining and petrochemical complex and the other projects related to the development and processing of petroleum and natural gas. In view of these requirements, the amount of capital invested in 1985 cannot remain at the level invested in 1984.

While we have yet to find additional sources of capital and materials for capital construction and must, in addition, spend more of the budget on the standard of living, the State Planning Commission has only allocated as much investment capital for 1985 as was invested in 1984. This limit on capital spending forces us to accept a slower rate of construction on a number of key cushion projects for the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan. At a time when communications-transportation should be developed in advance of development elsewhere, there is not even enough investment capital to meet the present requirements faced in the repair and expansion of the warehouse network and the repair of communications-transportation projects.

With out economy continuing to encounter difficulties, we must make appropriate use everywhere of the two readily available sources of capital that are our labor and arable land. Every effort must be made to utilize these sources of capital, these strengths of ours, in the most effective manner possible. However, it is clear that the shortage of capital and

materials will also have a very large influence upon our efforts to develop the strengths that lie in our arable land and labor.

Therefore, the amount of capital invested in 1984 is the very minimum that will be invested in 1985. In the course of implementing the plan, we will look for every way to increase the sources of capital and materials.

Fourthly, we must intensify the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce and find very good solutions to the problems in distribution and circulation. To stabilize the standard of living, we cannot only concern ourselves with developing production, but must also find well coordinated solutions to the problems we are encountering in the areas of finances, monetary activities, prices and wages. Solutions such as those employed in the recent past which treat each problem as a separate and distinct entity exacerbates the instability that exists in many areas of social life. Raising the prices of some goods while retaining the same prices for others brings increased disorder to prices and the market. To date, an estimated 2 billion dong have been collected through the sale of bonds. However, it is costly to issue bonds, very little cash has been collected through the sale of bonds and the interest rate is insignificant compared to the rate at which the dong has lost value. As a result, tens of billions of dong are circulating in society and causing much harm to production and the standard of living. Financial-banking agencies must boldly reorient their operations on the basis of business and accounting principles instead of indefinitely continuing to operate on the basis of administrative management and subsidization like a diligent treasurer who takes in money, holds money and prints money but is always short of money. To meet procurement needs, more than 7 billion dong will be needed in the provinces of the South from December 1984 to 15 January 1985. The State Bank has reported that it can only provide 500 million dong in deficit funding. However, the Commercial Grain Corporation of Ho Chi Minh City alone initially estimated that it could borrow about 800 million dong. The problem here is one of how the corporation operates. The corporation has proposed borrowing the money needed to buy rice under its monthly standard and making repayment in rice while paying a marginal rate of interest. The banking sector, too, should reorganize the way it operates in order to enable its customers to conveniently deposit or withdraw money when they want, spur business activity and try to meet the need for cash for production, procurements and business better with each passing day. The cash problem is a pressing problem. Tapping the patriotism of the people so that they loan money to the state is a factor of important significance but its impact is only limited. Of basic importance is the need to establish a relationship between the interests of the state and the citizen in which both the state and the people benefit or, at the very least, the citizen does not suffer a loss. A variety of methods must be employed, such as high interest cash loans during the agricultural season; changing the maturities and rate of interest on bonds (maturities from 1 to 10 years); raising the interest rate paid on savings deposits; and adopting a form of guarantee that money on deposit will not decrease in value, possibly by using a commodity to guarantee the value of deposits and interest.

As regards prices, it is necessary to gradually study the relationships among prices so that we can soon establish a new, scientifically based price

structure that is consistent with the realities of our country's situation and gradually achieve price stability. The problems of prices and wages must be solved simultaneously. When prices rise, wages must be raised accordingly to insure the stability of real wages. Prompt action must be taken to resolve the wage problem, even if what we do only amounts to a single step. Making improvements to wages, of course, means spending additional money and putting additional goods on the market but labor productivity will rise, production will increase and negative phenomena will decline; therefore, we should act without hesitation. The key here is to look for every way to open additional sources of money and goods so that wages can be improved. In addition, we should not demand that all wages be improved at once, rather, these improvements should be made gradually. In 1985, the first step in the improvement of wages should be to provide a significant increase in wages so that wage earners can live mainly on their wages.

The problems of finances, money, prices and wages are, in actuality, closely tied to the transformation and restructuring of production, to the transformation and management of the market. This is also the main thrust of the targets that must be met under the 1985 state plan. During the past 6 months, this work has been uniformly carried out in the major cities and practically all provinces along with the implementation of the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee. Although socialist transformation has not yielded much by way of tangible results, the significance of this policy's implementation is important. We have discovered or established models of new and highly effective modes and methods of operating on many different scales. These, in turn, have led us to ways to control goods and money, manage prices and the market and bring about the growth of socialist commerce so that it can take the initiative in both wholesale and retail sales, thereby helping to stabilize the standard of living, stabilize the situation. It must be stated that regardless of what level of production is achieved and regardless of whether the forces of socialist commerce are strong or weak, the socialist state still must raise the issue of successfully managing the social market. It would be a very serious mistake to think that managing the market is a matter that need not be raised until socialist commerce controls a full supply of merchandise and has the forces and means needed to take the place of private commerce. Such an outlook is incorrect.

If the market was like the market of 1982 and 1983, prices would have risen sharply following the natural disasters that recently occurred throughout the country. Although prices increased at a number of places, they quickly stabilized. This situation reflects the common effort made by the entire country and every locality; however, lying at the root of this situation is the fact that the government within each locality has managed to gain a certain degree of control over the market.

In 1985, we must continue to focus our efforts on transforming and managing the market and must perform this work in a well coordinated manner. We must strengthen the forces of socialist commerce in order to stabilize the standard of living of the people. At the same time, efforts must be made to meet the third target set by the 5th National Congress of Delegates of our party, the target of virtually completing socialist transformation in the South.

Some Thoughts on Guidance

Our system of administrative management characterized by bureaucracy and subsidization is the largest obstacle to each of our efforts. Although many party resolutions have criticized this ill, it has generally not been dismantled to our satisfaction and remains unchanged at many places. Therefore, dismantling the system of administrative management with its bureaucracy and subsidization is an important task, a task confirmed and especially emphasized by the resolutions of the 6th and 7th Party Plenums. One concern to many persons is how little progress has actually been made toward resolving more than a few problems that have been dealt with in many resolutions of the party and discussed very many times at party plenums. This fact has reduced the confidence and zeal of party members and the masses. It is also an indication of the inertia that exists within our management system as well as the ineffectiveness of the management provided by our state apparatus. Of importance is that we have yet to concentrate our forces on thoroughly resolving the key problems we face, have not made the vital breakthrough needed to dismantle, if not entirely, at least a portion of this system and partly improve the present situation. To do this well and bring about a true and meaningful change in the present situation, we must, in the guidance we provide, give special attention to resolving the following several problems:

1. We must achieve an even higher consensus within the party on all levels concerning our evaluation of the situation and the guidelines and measures for improving it. We have one major advantage in our favor, namely, that the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee built a high degree of consensus throughout the party. This consensus is having a practical impact and was recently further strengthened by the 7th Plenum of the Party Central Committee. However, there are still more than a few matters concerning which consensus exists only in broad terms. When we delve into specific matters, into specific sectors and localities, we are still not in complete agreement with one another concerning our evaluation of the situation and the steps that should be taken to improve it. For example, we are not in agreement concerning our evaluation of the situation or the measures that should be taken to resolve the current problem with living conditions; our evaluation of the various models and different forms of operation of localities; the methods and forms of transformation, etc.

These issues must be urgently and thoroughly studied, must be widely discussed so that the consensus that exists regarding general guidelines can be turned into comprehensive agreement on specific policies and the measures taken to implement them.

2. We must urgently revise and quickly promulgate a number of management policies and regulations. This is an important measure in launching a strong effort to rid ourselves of administrative management, bureaucracy and subsidization. The various sectors and localities must re-examine all of their policies and regulations so that they can promptly propose ways to amend or revise points that are no longer suitable. At the same time, they must immediately promulgate new regulations and policies that lie within the scope of their jurisdiction.

Efforts to revise, amend and promulgate policies must be designed to cut red tape; tap the initiative and creativity of the sectors and localities within a well balanced relationship with centralized and unified management by the central level throughout the country; and encourage the sectors and localities to develop their potentials and strengths, strongly shift their operations to accounting and socialist business practices and attach importance to productivity, quality and efficiency.

3. We must make vigorous and rapid improvements in our organizational and cadre work. Once we have reached agreement concerning a policy, its specific content and the measures to be taken to implement it, the results of our efforts depend mainly upon the capabilities of our apparatus and cadres; therefore, we must truly concern ourselves with how the apparatus is organized and how cadres are assigned. The Party Central Committee issued resolutions concerning this work long ago but we have yet to make much progress in this area. The size of the apparatus and the layers of bureaucracy grow with each passing day. The number of intermediary levels shows no signs of decreasing. Although there are very many persons on staff, our apparatus is still ineffective. It has come time for us to re-examine the entire apparatus and re-evaluate the cadres on each level through the results of their work in implementing party resolutions. Are not the inertia and ineffectiveness of the present apparatus, the fact that it is divorced from reality, the fact that more than a few cadres are degenerate and deviant, the extreme slowness and the mistakes with which the resolutions of the party are implemented and the serious but needless harm caused by incompetent and irresponsible cadres enough to turn our thoughts to just how urgent this work is? One fact deserving of attention is that ever since the liberation of the South, we have constantly faced many imbalances in economic construction as well as planning. This is a situation that will continue for many years to come. How, in the face of such a situation, can we implement plans, not to mention exceed them and bring about new changes, if our apparatus is plagued with inertia, the guidance we provide is ineffective and our cadres are lacking in personal qualities, lacking in dynamism and zeal and do not possess a full spirit of responsibility?

The dismantling of the old management system and the building of the new must be carried out in a well coordinated manner within all sectors and levels, from top to bottom and bottom to top. However, this is something that must be done gradually, must be planned and inspected.

The year 1985 is a year of many important anniversaries. We must commemorate these dates in history in a practical way, that is, through practical results achieved in our work, beginning by establishing a new management system, a new style of working, by creating a new spirit throughout the country.

7809
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WATER CONSERVANCY IN SUPPORT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 85 pp 23-26, 33

[Article by Nguyen Canh Dinh]

[Text] Water conservancy is a sector that is closely tied to agriculture. During the very first days of our efforts to restore and develop the economy in the North, our party, considering "water conservancy to be the measure of foremost importance in agricultural development, adopted the policy that "the construction of water conservancy projects proceed apace with cooperativization."

Over the years, noteworthy results have been recorded in water conservancy work performed in support of the economic development goals of the party, especially the development of agriculture. We have constructed many water conservancy project systems that irrigate 2.2 million hectares, drain 850,000 hectares and block the flow of salt water into 700,000 hectares of agricultural land. We have built more than 2,000 kilometers of dikes along the major rivers, more than 2,000 kilometers of dikes along river tributaries and flood control networks (capable of handling the heaviest flooding that has ever occurred in the North). We have built and repaired nearly 3,000 kilometers of sea dikes capable of preventing intrusion by salt water during typhoons. These are very important material-technical bases of socialist agriculture in our country. They have made it possible for us to practice intensive cultivation, raise crop yields, practice multicropping, expand the amount of area under cultivation in many large areas, gradually stabilize agricultural production, prevent and control flooding and safeguard the daily lives of the people. At a time when we lack the conditions needed to supply cooperatives and production collectives with much agricultural machinery, these are, as General Secretary Le Duan pointed out, "economic-technical bases of foremost importance, bases which guarantee that we will maintain and strengthen the cooperativization movement and gradually advance our cooperativized agriculture to large-scale, socialist production."

However, besides the results described above, there are still many unresolved difficulties in water conservancy work within our country. Only 37 percent of our total farmland is irrigated or drained by water conservancy projects. The Red River Delta, which is one of our country's two key rice growing regions, has a rather complete water conservancy system that irrigates 90 percent of

the delta's farmland and has created important capabilities from the standpoint of intensive cultivation and multicropping. However, virtually nothing has been done to eliminate waterlogging. During years of harsh weather, it is also difficult to combat drought, especially when there is not a stable supply of electricity.

Although the Mekong Delta is the number one grain production region in our country, only enough water conservancy projects have been constructed within the region to irrigate about 20 percent of its farmland. Irrigation water is delivered to fields mainly by gasoline pumps (which break down easily). Not many drainage or flood control projects have been constructed. Each year, millions of hectares are flooded and soil acidity, sulfate deposits and salt deposits increase, as a result of which efforts to practice multicropping, initiate intensive cultivation and expand the amount of area under cultivation have been limited.

Water conservancy projects provide irrigation for 28 percent of the farmland in the mountainous areas of Bac Bo and 60 percent of the farmland in the Bac Bo midlands. In former Zone 4, water conservancy projects provide irrigation for 55 percent of farmland, mainly irrigation for rice fields; not much has been done by way of providing irrigation for subsidiary food crops and industrial crops. Not many drainage projects have been constructed, consequently, it is still difficult to alleviate waterlogging. There are still many areas in former Zone 4 in which irrigation must be provided for the summer-fall crop (to avoid flooding during the main season of the year, the crops raised during the 10th month season had to be shifted to the summer-fall season). In the coastal region of Central Vietnam, although water conservancy projects have been constructed very quickly since liberation day, they only provide irrigation for 28 percent of the region's farmland. Because there are no flood control projects within this region, passively avoiding exposure to flood damage continues to be the measure of primary importance. The provinces of the Central Highlands, a region with very large agricultural potentials, currently have some 300,000 hectares of farmland; however, water conservancy projects only irrigate about 30,000 hectares, mainly rice. Irrigation projects have yet to be constructed for the areas in which annual and perennial industrial crops are raised. In eastern Nam Bo, only 15 percent of farmland is irrigated.

The above situation shows that in order to develop the agricultural potentials of our country through intensive cultivation, multicropping and the expansion of the amount of area under cultivation, it is necessary to develop water conservancy projects first, to make stronger progress in water conservancy. The limitations we are presently encountering in our efforts to develop the areas of acidic, sulfate soil and flooded areas of the Mekong Delta and the coastal areas that lack fresh water, in expanding the practice of intensive cultivation in the highlands and mountains and in providing drainage for frequently flooded fields in the lowlands and midlands of Bac Bo constitute a pressing demand that we take positive steps to resolve the water conservancy problem and lay the groundwork for the development of agricultural production.

However, even on land that is irrigated and drained by water conservancy projects, we should not naively think that we have solved the problems of

drought and waterlogging regardless of the complex changes that occur in the weather. Even in the Red River Delta, although more water conservancy projects have been constructed there than in all other areas, the rated capacity of these projects is not enough to satisfy the very strict water requirements of the new, short-stemmed, high yield varieties of rice and the need to increase the cultivation of winter crops under difficult weather conditions.

The above situation faces us with very large tasks in water conservancy work: appropriately meeting the pressing, comprehensive and large water requirements of the various sectors of the national economy and, in particular, meeting the water needs of agriculture in a manner consistent with the economic and social conditions of our country during each period.

The plan for the development of water conservancy projects must be directed toward providing irrigation, with appropriate attention given to strengthening and improving the quality of flood prevention and control. This plan must be coordinated with the development of water sources in order to generate electric power and supply water for the development of industry and provide a supply of potable water to the people in the highland and border areas to support the maintenance of combat readiness and combat operations.

Plans for investments in water conservancy projects are essentially investments by industry in agricultural development. The product of farmland water conservancy is "water," water supplied at the right time and in the right amount or water drained promptly, all of which has a direct influence upon the growth of crops, upon intensive cultivation, multicropping and the improvement of the soil, upon the ability to raise crop yields and output. The returns from investments in farmland water conservancy also have the effect of helping to strengthen and perfect the new production relations within agriculture and build the new, socialist countryside. However, it must also be realized that the highest returns from investments in farmland water conservancy can only be achieved when they are closely and effectively coordinated with the entire management system and the other economic-technical measures within agriculture. Therefore, the plans for the construction of farmland water conservancy systems within each area, each province, each district and each village must be researched, examined and balanced from the standpoint of the master plan for the entire country, for each area, province, district and village and must be carried out in suitable stages.

The specific steps taken to support agricultural development through water conservancy must be based on the strategic goal set by the 5th National Congress of the Party: "We must endeavor, within the space of about three 5-year plans, to put into use all 10 million hectares of agricultural land, all 15 million hectares of forest land and raise an average of two crops per year on all land under cultivation..." To achieve this goal, our efforts in water conservancy work must be focused on solving such important problems as managing and operating existing farmland water conservancy networks in a way that supports the targets set for agriculture during each season and each year; continuing, through appropriate investments, to accelerate the construction of key projects and projects now under construction in order to quickly put them into operation and begin realizing returns from them; and

starting the construction of a number of projects that are urgently needed to support intensive cultivation, multicropping and the opening of new agricultural land.

As mentioned above, the extent to which farmland irrigation and drainage networks have been constructed varies from one area to the next, consequently, the guidelines for the construction, repair and completion of farmland water conservancy systems over the next several years cannot be general in nature, rather, they must be specific for each area.

The provinces of the Red River Delta, the midlands and mountains of Bac Bo and former Zone 4 have relatively complete irrigation and drainage networks, consequently, the improvement of the management, operation, security and repair as well as the completion of the projects in these provinces are closely tied to vigorously applying scientific and technological advances and making the fullest possible use of the rated capacity of headwater projects. The greatest difficulty at this time, the difficulty which has a large effect upon 10th month production within this region, is that very much land still becomes waterlogged. In order to eventually virtually eliminate waterlogging and flooding we must urgently study the characteristics of and the complex changes that occur during floods; classify the different kinds of land that become flooded and waterlogged; give priority in the distribution of electricity to fully utilize the capacity of existing pump stations; and invest in the gradual construction of effective waterlogging control projects coordinated with the other technical measures within agriculture. A number of medium-size irrigation projects must be constructed for some farmland in the hills, farmland in areas recently claimed from the sea, farmland in river silt fields...that is not now irrigated in order to help develop the potential of the soil and make use of local labor.

In the provinces of Zone 5, the Central Highlands and former Eastern Nam Bo, the amount of land irrigated and drained by projects is still low compared to the total amount of arable land. Since the liberation of the South, the state has invested in and the people have worked hard to build water conservancy projects in order to develop production. Some large and medium-size projects have been put into operation. Small-scale projects constructed by the people with technical assistance and materials supplied by the state have supported agricultural production well. The important question faced in the years ahead is how to make the fullest possible use of the rated capacity of the projects that have been constructed and how to augment and improve the sluice, canal and ditch networks that deliver water to fields. At the same time, we must urgently complete the projects that are now under construction, insuring that they are constructed at the rate for which they were approved and are quickly put into operation one section at a time, quickly put into operation as a complete system supporting production. We must actively prepare technical drawings and blueprints and construction forces so that a number of key projects can be constructed as soon as the necessary capital, materials and equipment become available. Appropriate attention must be given to building projects that supply irrigation water for large-scale plantings of annual and perennial industrial crops and projects that supply potable water and water for other daily needs to the ethnic minorities, the new economic zones and for national defense in coordination with building farmland water conservancy

projects, accelerating the construction of small hydropower and hydroelectric stations to support the development of small machine centers and processing plants and launching a vigorous mass movement to build small and medium-size water conservancy projects within the locality to help insure the implementation of the plans for each season and year.

The provinces of the Mekong Delta have much in their favor from the standpoint of climate, arable land and water sources for developing agriculture. However, not much development has been achieved to date and part of the reason for this has been the failure to perform good water conservancy work. Together with investing in the implementation of agricultural technical measures, it is necessary to quickly prepare the economic-technical conditions, that is, the plans, surveys, blueprints and construction forces, needed for the construction of a network of small and medium-size water conservancy projects for each area, the construction of a farmland water conservancy system within the district to provide irrigation and drainage, to leach acidity and sulfate from the soil... Under the guideline "the state and the people working together," we must launch a strong movement to have the masses participate in the digging and dredging of main canals carrying water into fields and in the strengthening and improvement of the dikes, sluices and dams that block the flow of salt water, leach acidity from fields and control flooding at the start of the season, thereby protecting their summer-fall rice crops.

Because the level of development of arable land is, generally speaking, still low and in view of the specific natural and socio-economic conditions within the Mekong Delta, water conservancy work must be developed in suitable stages in order to help initiate the practice of multicropping, expand the amount of area under cultivation and provide water to support intensive cultivation and the improvement of the soil.

The construction of water conservancy projects in the Mekong Delta must be closely tied to population planning so that the aquatic environment coordinates water route transportation, the planting, cultivation and harvesting of marine products...with a view toward achieving a combined return from these projects.

Together with building farmland water conservancy systems, we must take positive and constant steps to prevent and control flooding. Flood prevention and control require that we coordinate several basic measures: planting forests and protecting the headwater forests; building reservoirs and managing and providing good security for existing reservoirs; building dikes, strengthening dikes and providing good dike security; removing obstacles from river channels; building and managing projects that dissipate the main body of floodwater.

In the northern provinces that have major river and tributary dike systems and sea dikes, we must constantly concern ourselves with strengthening and improving the quality of dikes and repairing damage hidden within the body of dikes. We must also regularly concern ourselves with building and

strengthening dike, retaining wall and sluice management and security forces and insure that dike sections which show signs of possibly collapsing during a flood are dealt with in a technically correct manner from the very outset.

At many places in the provinces of Central Vietnam where flood control projects have not yet been constructed, the best measures to take are to organize production and social life with flooding in mind, promote afforestation, protect the headwater forests and tightly manage flood runoff while taking positive steps to prepare the conditions needed to build flood control reservoirs and use the water captured in them for a variety of purposes.

The flooding in the provinces of the Mekong Delta is unique. The floodwaters of the Mekong River affect several different countries. Therefore, flood control in the Mekong Delta is a matter that must be thoroughly studied. To limit flooding and guarantee that two rice crops are raised each year on the majority of cropland, the actual experience of many different areas shows that places where the flooding is shallow can practice multicropping, practice intensive cultivation and stabilize production if they build area embankments to prevent early flooding and control the flooding late in the season, build sluices and dig drainage canals in coordination with establishing a suitable allocation of crops and seasonal schedule.

The process of providing water for agriculture is also the process of providing water for the various sectors of the national economy and making combined use of water sources. To effectively control water sources, we must promote research into the natural features of Vietnam and the laws that apply to water so that we can act accordingly and take measures to harness and control water to serve the interests of the national economy. In conjunction with the reasonable development of water sources, full attention must be given to protecting water sources in a manner closely tied to forestry, to the settlement of nomads and to the preservation of headwater forests. We must tightly manage water sources, protect the aquatic environment and not allow industrial waste water to pollute water sources and adversely affect our water resources.

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SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENTING THE POLICY OF ASSIGNING LAND AND FORESTS

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[Article by Phan Xuan Dot]

[Text] The forests and forest land are one of the country's most precious natural resources and play a very important role in production, everyday life, the environment and national defense. The building of forest resources and the development of forestry are always pressing requirements of the revolution and are matters closely tied to the standard of living of the people, especially the ethnic minorities of the mountains and midlands. For this reason, while attaching importance to solidifying and strengthening the state-operated organizations involved with forest resources, it is the policy of our party and state to accelerate the assignment of land and forests to districts to manage and cooperatives to use for commercial purposes in accordance with the planning, plans and laws of the state.

I. The Assignment of Land and Forests Is the Implementation of the Working People's Collective Ownership of Forest Resources and Forest Land

1. The forests and forest land are property of the nation, are managed, harvested and used exclusively by the state in accordance with planning and plans and for the purpose of serving the common interests of all society. However, the forests and forest land are widely distributed, are intermixed with population areas and the different types of arable land, among which the forests are always closely associated with needs in the everyday lives of the people. To improve the management and protection of existing forests and make effective use of the tens of millions of hectares of bare ground, barren hills and mountains and the other types of arable land, it is necessary to assign forests and forest land to state-operated units (forestry sites and state farms), agencies, army units, schools, and collective units (cooperatives and production collectives) in order to establish ownership responsibility in their management and commercial utilization and insure that all types of land, that all forests have an owner and are being managed and protected well, are being used in accordance with the planning, plans and laws of the state. In addition to organizing state-operated units consisting of main force units managed by the central and provincial levels to undertake the harvesting and building of forest resources within important areas that play a central economic-technical role in production and business, the state must use the

policy on the assignment of land and forests and other economic leverage policies to also gain the active participation of the people of all areas and bring the tremendous capabilities that lie in their labor, capital and production experiences into afforestation and forest conservation in our country and quickly achieve the target of covering the millions of hectares of bare ground, of barren hills and mountains and other types of fallow land with vegetation. The assignment of land and forests has the purpose of enabling the working people to exercise their right of ownership in managing, protecting and rebuilding forest resources, thereby insuring that everyone who lives near a forest truly exercises their rights and fulfills their obligations concerning the various components of these resources.

Under this policy, the forestry sector and the people's committees of the provinces and districts have, in recent years, assigned nearly 3 million hectares of forests and forest land to collective units and the people to protect and use for commercial purposes. Having received land or forests, many forestry sites, state farms, cooperatives and so forth have begun to reorganize their production. They are managing the forests well, protecting them well and planting crops that coordinate agriculture and forestry, thereby helping to eliminate some of the difficulties being encountered in everyday life and meet the forestry development target within the locality. In Chiem Hoa District in Ha Tuyen Province, after the forests had been planned and classified according to use, 19,000 hectares of shelter belt forests were turned over to the village people's committees to protect and 31,500 hectares of commercial forests and forest land, with 3,600 hectares of this land being turned over to nearly 9,500 families for the development of forest stands. The cooperatives have reorganized their labor, set up 295 agricultural-forestry units and 36 specialized forestry units and exceeded the forestry plan quotas assigned by the state. All of the district's forests and forest land have been assigned and specific responsibility for their management has been established. Because all three sectors, the state-operated sector, the collective sector and the household sector, are working together to manage and protect forest resources and develop forestry production, the destruction of the forests and forest fires have markedly declined. In 1983, the forest area that was burned to make slash and burn fields declined to one-tenth of what it was in 1970 and 1971. On the basis of Council of Ministers' Directive 29/CT dated 12 November 1983 and Decision 184 on the assignment of land and forests, many provinces and municipalities have adopted specific policies designed to perform this work better within their locality.

However, because they do not fully realize the importance of this policy, some places are still apprehensive and do not want to put the policy into effect. Other places, although they have assigned land and forests to cooperatives and the people, have subsequently ignored this issue and left everything up to cooperatives and the people, have failed to provide them with any guidance or assistance, failed to create good conditions for them to quickly begin producing, quickly start managing and protecting the forests assigned to them. Some places have even taken it upon themselves to cut the forests and use them in ways that do not comply with the planning, plans and laws of the state, ways that damage national assets and do not meet the objectives or requirements of this policy.

2. The forests are national assets that belong to all the people. Thus, does this ownership of the forests and forest land change when land and forests are turned over to cooperatives to be managed and used for commercial purposes? This is the concern that some cadres have when implementing this policy. It is also the reason behind the apprehension over this policy, the failure to boldly assign forests and forest land as stipulated by the state.

Here, it is necessary to reaffirm who it is that owns the forests and forest land as well as every other natural resource: "The land, forests, mountains, rivers, lakes, mines, natural resources in the bowels of the earth...and all other property that the law defines as property of the state are owned by all the people."⁽¹⁾ Thus, under our system, the forests and forest land are under only one form of ownership, ownership by all the people, and are managed by the state in accordance with planning, plans and the law. For this reason, the ownership of the forests and forest land never changes, even when forests and forest land are turned over to state-operated units, collectives or individual laborers to be managed and used. State-operated units, collectives and families that receive land and forests have the right to manage and use them on a permanent basis in accordance with planning and plans but they do not own this land or these forests, that is, they do not have the right to sell, trade or transfer this ownership to someone else (except in the special cases of inheriting the business of or harvesting products for a member of the immediate family). The purposes of assigning a particular parcel of land or section of forest to a specific state-operated unit, collective or family are to establish specific responsibilities of ownership for each parcel of land and section of forest, tap the sense of responsibility, the initiative and creativity of every agency, every collective unit and every laborer to achieve the effective protection, harvesting and utilization of natural resources in ways that serve the interests of the state, the collective and the individual laborer and put an end to the problem of the forests being "owned by no one," the problem of negligent forest management and the practice of doing as one sees fit that has persisted in the management of businesses for many years. The assignment of land and forests to agencies and units does not mean cutting land and the forests into small parcels and sections for agencies and units to use for any purpose they see fit, use in any way they see fit. To the contrary, they must use the land and forests they receive for a commercial purpose and in exact accordance with the planning, plans and laws of the state. Once land and forests have been assigned, the state provides close guidance and inspection and corrects mistakes made in the management and use of land and forests. If necessary, it can compel a unit or individual to pay for material damages caused through the commercial or non-commercial use of forests in a way that does not comply with planning, which can include taking back the forests and land originally assigned to the unit or individual if it is thought that they are no longer able to effectively manage or use the land or forest.

The proper implementation of this policy will unleash a new force stimulating the development of forestry in our country and cause large numbers of working people to concern themselves with thoroughly protecting forestry resources and achieving returns from their efforts in afforestation and the development of forest resources.

II. Closely Coordinating the Assignment of Land and Forests with the Reorganizing of Forestry Within the District and Within Each Basic Unit

The main objectives in the assignment of land and forests are to stimulate production, provide stronger management, protect forest resources better, insure that each parcel of land and section of forest is utilized in a highly efficient manner, protect the forests, plant trees on bare land and barren hills, build tree nurseries, orchards and forest stands and combine agriculture and forestry so that every unit of forest land and farmland produces much wealth supporting the economy and everyday life. To achieve these objectives, once a section of forest or forest land has been assigned to a basic production unit, full importance must be attached to reorganizing production, reorganizing the forests and arable land and restructuring the labor force in order to meet the new requirements raised by the expansion of forestry production within the district, within each forestry site, state farm, cooperative and production collective.

1. Production must be reorganized along lines that closely coordinate agriculture with forestry and provide for a diversified business and the coordinated use of natural resources. An efficient guideline for developing this strength is to coordinate agriculture and forestry, to closely link agriculture to forestry, livestock production and the other trades within a unified structure. The forests are a natural resource base from which products that directly support production, everyday life and export needs can be harvested. Bare ground and barren hills and mountains are valuable means of production for producing grain and food products for humans, especially for the planting of industrial crops and special product crops of high export value. Therefore, the assignment of land and forests must be closely tied to the requirement of properly restructuring the economy with a view toward developing the potentials that lie in the labor, arable land, natural resources, traditions and production experience of each area. We must put an end to the nomadic form of production, to the burning and destruction of the forests, the destruction of natural resources and damage to the environment. On the basis of a master plan for economic development and forestry planning that coordinates agriculture and forestry as mentioned above, every district must adopt clear economic development guidelines and business guidelines and use the forests to restructure production areas, readjust the size and the administrative boundaries of existing state-operated units and those that will be constructed and, on this basis, carry out the assignment of forests and forest land so that cooperatives, production collectives, agencies, army units and schools can manage and use them for commercial purposes in accordance with guidelines and planning and reorganize forestry production within each specific area. Thus, when being assigned land or forests, every state-operated and collective unit must adopt clear, specific management and business guidelines for each use of the forests and forest land. This also lays the basis for cooperatives to take the next step, assigning forests to each production unit and entering into contracts with each laborer and each family to look after and protect the forests and carry out afforestation.

2. Reorganizing the forests is an especially important requirement in protecting and using natural resources well and achieving concrete returns from the assignment of land and forests.

The forests must be classified on the basis of to whom they are assigned and their use: the special purpose forests (called the closed forests), the shelter belt forests and the commercial forests. Regulations on the management and protection of the different types of forests will be adopted and these different types of forests will be assigned to specific parties. As regards the closed forests, specialized forces must be organized to protect and use them for commercial purposes under special regulations. The shelter belt forests will primarily be turned over to the people's committees on the various levels so that they can organize local forces to protect them. The commercial forests and forest land that lies outside the management of forestry sites will be turned over to cooperatives for protection and afforestation. Bare ground and barren hills that are scattered here and there in small parcels near population centers will primarily be turned over to cooperatives, production collectives, cooperative member families and the families of cadres, workers and civil servants to be developed into cultivated forests or used to raise grain, food crops, fruit or special product crops in combination with trees to achieve self-sufficiency in lumber and firewood and bring more income into the household economy.

The forests and forest land must not only be classified by use as described, but must also be reorganized by subarea (1,000 hectares or more) to facilitate management, conservation, harvesting and afforestation as well as the implementation of management contracts when assigning land and forests. All forests and forest land within each district must be divided into standard subareas, sections and lots on maps. These subareas, sections and lots must have clearly defined boundaries and be worked out to the last detail. The quantity and quality of the various species within each subarea, section and lot must be investigated and evaluated in the field. Clear management requirements must be established as must a business system based on the order in which these subareas, sections and lots are opened. This is the basis upon which the use of forests and forest land by every unit and family is inspected and supervised.

3. Once land and forests have been turned over to units and the people, the labor force must be efficiently reorganized and redistributed. On the basis of the economic structure, the scale of production and the type of organization (the type of district, that is, an agro-forestry-industrial, forestry-agricultural-industrial or agro-forestry-fishing district and the type of cooperative, that is, an agro-forestry cooperative or forestry-agricultural cooperative), it is necessary to redeploy production forces and redistribute labor from within agriculture to meet the requirements involved in developing forestry and the other trades. As regards cooperatives and production collectives that are assigned additional forests or forest land, the amount of labor that must be invested in the protection and repair of forests, afforestation and the harvesting, processing, transportation and marketing of products must be balanced with the size of the unit's specific task. The labor working in forestry at cooperatives must be organized into specialized units, into specialized units coordinated with seasonal labor or into basic units that engage in both farming and forestry. In addition to that portion of the forest that the cooperative itself uses for commercial purposes and in its production, the cooperative can enter into specific production contracts with each household to have them protect, look after or

carry out afforestation within a specific area of forest. The assignment of forests and forest land to each basic production unit and the forestry contracts entered into with families must be based on the following principles: the forests and forest land must be easily accessible and close to the center of population; the forests must be on higher land and farm fields on lowlying land; and it must be convenient to manage, protect and harvest products. On the other hand, the assignment of land and forests must be coordinated with the plans for the redistribution of labor and population in order to gradually spread out the population and expand population centers, thereby helping to bring about the redistribution of labor on a nationwide scale.

III. The New Management System Must Be Implemented in a Manner Consistent with the Policy of Assigning Land and Forests to the Districts to Manage and to Cooperatives To Use for Commercial Purposes

One of the basic reasons why the policy of assigning land and forests has had a limited impact has been the slowness with which we have changed and improved the management system with a view toward stimulating production and improving the management and protection of the forests once land and forests have been turned over to units and the people. The policy itself is a correct expression of the line on the development of forestry, of relying upon the people, of "the state and the people working together." It is a policy that is consistent with our country's situation during the period of transition, consistent with the aspirations of our people, a policy that has the support and participation of large numbers of people, a policy that has been and is bringing about strong changes within forestry in our country. Therefore, it is necessary to quickly change and improve the management system within the forestry business in ways that encourage and bring about the widespread participation of the people in forestry work.

1. It is first of all necessary to make the district a forestry and forest management level, give the villages increased responsibility and authority in the management of the forests and allow the basic units to display greater initiative in their production and business operations.

The district, an administrative unit that is close to both the forests and the people, occupies an especially important position in the process of building and developing the forestry economy, consequently, the district must become a level that directly manages the forests and the forest industry. Of importance is the need to clearly define the forest management responsibility of the district and to build and develop the district forest economy in a manner consistent with the natural resources and strengths of each area. The district people's committee is the organization that is directly responsible for taking inventory of arable land and natural resources, supplementing district planning and, on this basis, organizing and guiding the assignment of land and forests to state-operated units, collectives and families and guiding them in building and developing, in effectively protecting and harvesting forest resources.

As the representative of the state on the basic level, the village people's committee has the responsibility of supervising and inspecting the

cooperatives and economic organizations that receive land and forests to insure that they meet the requirements involved in managing, protecting and harvesting the forests and that they use the forests and forest land as prescribed by law. At the same time, it must organize a mass movement to protect the forests well, prevent and fight forest fires, stop activities that result in the destruction of the forests, step up the rate of afforestation and achieve the target of covering the bare ground and barren hills of the locality with vegetation.

The basic units that receive land and forests must be allowed to take greater initiative in their business so that they can make full use of their land by combining agriculture and forestry, produce additional grain and agricultural products, organize the planting and processing of industrial crops, special product crops and pharmaceutical crops of high economic value and make full and economical use of their different sources of forestry products in order to accumulate capital on their own. They must be able to take the initiative in establishing economic ties for the purpose of acquiring additional capital, labor, materials and technology for the purpose of utilizing the favorable conditions of the locality as effectively as possible. Forestry sites and state farms, in addition to the main products they produce under legal norms, must also produce other products by making full use of their land and provide the collective with additional income. A system must be established that closely ties production, planting and processing to the circulation of products. There must be wider latitude to trade that portion of the product produced that exceeds the plan and products that are collected. A supply of grain, materials and goods must be established in order to support forestry production, insure that circulation is unimpeded, insure that production develops and provide those who work in the forests with a stable income and stable standard of living.

2. It is necessary to improve forestry planning to suit the new situation concerning natural resources and the new requirements that exist after land and forests have been turned over to units and the people. The rate at which main products of the forests can be harvested is declining and it has come time to work out and adopt reasonable harvesting plans that are based on the growth rate of each section of forest so that harvesting efforts do not destroy forest resources. After land and forests have been assigned to units and the people and production has been reorganized, the forest economy of the district and its cooperatives steadily develops and becomes an integral part of the locality's socio-economic plan. Therefore, it is necessary to use economic contracts governing procurements and the supplying of materials and services to direct and guide cooperatives in formulating forestry production plans that include norms on such things as the protection and repair of forests, afforestation and the harvesting and processing of forest products. At the same time, positive steps should be taken to help and guide the cooperatives in meeting these norms.

3. To successfully implement the policy of assigning land and forests to collectives and the people, improvements must be made to the policies that encourage collectives and the people to accept forests to protect, accept bare ground and barren hills to cover with trees. Investments in forestry are investments that do not yield returns for a long time, are investments in a

labor intensive sector. We must have policies that provide true incentive, such as policies that provide loans with preferential terms, provide some assistance obtaining seed and materials, provide technical instruction and provide cadre training so that cooperatives and the people have what they need to succeed in their production and businesses. The system of procurement prices paid by the state must also be changed and improved and accompanied by a policy on the sale of grain and consumer goods in exchange for forest products as is done in the procurement of other products. In particular, a policy must be adopted to supply the additional grain that is needed in nomadic areas, areas that produce and process products for exportation and areas that raise raw materials for industry so that the people of these areas can engage in production with peace of mind.

Council of Ministers' Decision 184 on the assignment of land and forests to collectives and the people and Secretariat Directive 100 on product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers must be applied in forestry production. On the basis of establishing reasonable economic-technical quotas governing all jobs in forestry production, we must broaden the scope of product contracts to include all jobs in the production process, thereby insuring that laborers who work in the forests earn a satisfactory income, that the interests of the state, the collective and the individual laborer are balanced and that agriculture, forestry and the other trades help one another develop. .

The assignment of land and forests to districts to be managed and to cooperatives to be used for commercial purposes is a major policy of our party and state. The proper, successful implementation of this policy will surely bring about strong changes in the management and protection of the forests and the development of the forest industry, rapidly increase production capacity and the efficiency with which natural resources are utilized, meet some pressing needs of everyday life and actively support the efforts to achieve the country's socio-economic goals.

FOOTNOTES

1. Article 19 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

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AN IMPORTANT VICTORY FOR OUR PEOPLE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 85 pp 34-35, 47

[Political Commentary]

[Text] With the assistance of the people at many places in the South, our public security forces apprehended more than 100 spies of Beijing and Thai intelligence agents who had infiltrated our country and confiscated a large quantity of weapons, ammunition and equipment used in espionage and sabotage. At the same time, public security forces arrested accomplices of theirs, the leaders of a number of clandestine counter-revolutionary organizations within our country. The Supreme People's Court tried this important and dangerous spy case in public before a large number of people. The traitors, all lackeys of the Beijing expansionists engaged in espionage activities against our country, were given the punishment they deserved. They were persons who had a long history of involvement with the imperialists and foreign reactionary powers, had conducted many insane activities to sabotage Vietnam's revolution and had committed the especially grave crime of working as a lackey of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, the immediate and dangerous enemy of our people. They had truly been turned into vile and despicable agents of the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles in their wide-ranging war of sabotage and were being used to carry out extremely dangerous plots against our country, namely, to conduct acts of sabotage and eventually foment internal, armed rebellion coordinated with attacks from the outside to topple the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The fate of traitors has always been one of being hated, despised and harshly punished by the people.

The great victory won by our people in this important spy case also represents a tragic defeat for the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers in an insane policy to sabotage, weaken and eventually annex our country.

The aspect of this spy case most deserving of attention is that the masterminds behind it were none other than the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. Their exceedingly malicious and ugly nature, plans and tactics have once again been exposed. Despite suffering heavy defeats in the two wars of aggression unleashed on the southwestern and northern borders of our country, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists have continued to pursue their ambition of annexing our country by waging a wide-ranging war of

sabotage and border encroachment while preparing to launch a large-scale war of aggression against our country when necessary. In their wide-ranging war of sabotage, the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles, in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers, are attacking our country in increasingly fierce and brazen ways in many fields of economics, politics, culture and ideology, in many different areas and from many different directions by means of very cunning and dangerous stratagems and tactics. One of their important efforts has been to raise the level of espionage activity in coordination with acts of sabotage and armed rebellion. They try every way possible to insert groups of spies and commandoes into our country by sending them across the northern and southwestern borders, in from the seas and in from Thailand to gather intelligence information, establish and conspire with counter-revolutionaries within our country and conduct acts of harassment and sabotage of every kind, thereby making it possible to foment rebellion and topple the government. This spy case has exposed their evil schemes, their cunning tactics and the brazen actions they have taken with no regard for international law or the most basic standards of international relations. It has also exposed the collaboration, collaboration in the nature of a law, that exists between our foreign and domestic enemies.

At the same time, this case is clear proof of the correct and astute observation made by our party that the strategy and tactics of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists toward our country have never changed, except to become more hostile.

The accomplices of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in this case, the ultra-right wing reactionary powers within ruling circles in Thailand, following the lead of China and the United States, have been pursuing a hostile policy toward our people and have violated our country's sovereignty and security. Thailand's Department of Army Intelligence and ruling circles in Thailand must assume complete responsibility for the serious consequences of their very evil actions.

The echoes of this case show the countries of Southeast Asia and the world that it is the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists who are the main threat to peace, security and stability in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

To our people, the breakup of this dangerous spy organization represents an important victory in their work of maintaining the security of the fatherland in today's complex situation. It represents a major feat of arms by our resourceful and brave public security forces who acted with professional excellence and received very effective assistance from the people and the people's armed forces. It also represents a victory in using the combined strength of the forces of dictatorship and our people in the struggle against the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage.

This spy case is another reminder to our party, our people and our army of the need to always maintain a high spirit of revolutionary vigilance, maintain combat readiness, fight well and win victory over every scheme and act of sabotage of the enemy; the need to attach importance to maintaining internal security within each basic unit and at strategically important places; and the need to promote the mass movement to maintain security while building a solid

and strong national defense system. Security and national defense have never been as closely linked as they are today. Only by performing both good security work and good national defense work is it possible for us to achieve tranquility in the domestic situation, for the borders to be solid and strong, for the enemy to be prevented from carrying out their plans to coordinate attacks from within with attacks from the outside in a vain attempt to topple our government. Of importance is the need for each of us to always recognize the enemy, to always know what their nature, their plans and tactics are. We must never be ambiguous or harbor an illusion concerning the enemy, must maintain a clear, definite and firm attitude toward them, must be ready and determined to defeat them. These are also the standards by which everyone's political awareness, stand, will to fight and revolutionary qualities are to be measured. It is only on this basis that we can constantly maintain revolutionary vigilance, improve our fighting skills, be alert to the very cunning deceptions and psychological warfare tactics of the enemy, always be ready and alert in the struggle against them and take positive steps to effectively prevent and combat each of their schemes and acts of sabotage and aggression.

At present, our enemy is intensifying their wide-ranging war of sabotage, escalating their military activities along our country's northern border to new and extremely dangerous levels and conducting, in coordination with their lackeys, new acts of opposition in Laos and Cambodia. The struggle against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists to defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland is closely tied to the very complicated and bitter struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country. Our people, as well as the people of Laos and Cambodia, the people of Southeast Asia and the world, must be very highly vigilant, must be permanently vigilant in the face of the schemes and acts of sabotage and aggression of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and the bellicose imperialist powers.

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EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON BUILDING THE DISTRICT AND STRENGTHENING THE DISTRICT
LEVEL

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 85 pp 36-39, 73

[Unattributed article]

[Text] In 1984, from issue number 2 to issue number 12, in its Exchange of Opinions section, TAP CHI CONG SAN published numerous articles by research and leadership cadres of the various levels and sectors to contribute to the implementation of the party's policy on building the district and strengthening the district level. Some of these articles were general in nature, some dealt with only one or two aspects of the issue and some presented practical experience gained in building the district and strengthening the district level within provinces and districts of different types and different geographical conditions. These articles showed that the work of building the district and strengthening the district level occupies an extremely important position of strategic significance in socialist construction and the defense of the socialist fatherland. Facts have proven that the policy of building the district and strengthening the district level is a correct policy.

In the course of implementing the policy on building the district and strengthening the district level, the specifics and the methods involved in building the district have become increasingly clear. The central level and the provinces and sectors, especially the districts, have led and organized the implementation of this policy with increasing effectiveness; all districts have made progress in changing and improving the management system, implementing product contracts, applying technological advances and building material-technical bases. At many places, the ability of the district and basic levels to provide guidance has been somewhat improved and the spirit of collective ownership of the working people has been heightened. Many districts have recorded important achievements in the development of agriculture, small industry and the handicraft trades, in establishing an agro-industrial economic structure, building the new countryside, improving the people's standard of living and meeting security and national defense needs. Advanced districts that have gained much good experience have emerged in all regions.

Generally speaking, however, the building of the districts has not been uniform. There are still many districts that have not brought about marked changes in production and the standard of living, have not fully tapped the initiative and creativity of the locality or the spirit of collective ownership of the working people and whose thinking is still largely characterized by waiting for and relying upon the upper level. Some party committees and a number of sectors do not see the importance of building the district, do not have a firm grasp of what is involved in building the agro-industrial economic structure within the district and do not understand that the building of the district must be comprehensive in nature and closely tied to the basic units. The problems and difficulties of the district and basic levels, especially those that involve specific policies, the building of the economic structure, the organization of production, the management system, the organization of the apparatus and the corps of cadres, are being solved slowly. Due to the importance of this work, the 7th Plenum of the Party Central Committee set forth guidelines and tasks concerning the building of the district and the strengthening of the district level.

To build solid and strong districts, it is first of all necessary to focus efforts on establishing an agro-industrial structure, an agro-forestry-industrial economic structure, a forestry-agricultural-industrial economic structure or an agro-fishing-industrial economic structure within the district, one that is suited to each different area, and on developing a diversified agriculture characterized by centralization and specialized farming and is gradually advancing toward large-scale socialist production. This structure must insure the development of agriculture, forestry, fishing, industry and distribution-circulation, reflect the close relationship between production and distribution-circulation and lay the groundwork for developing economic potentials in a rational and efficient manner.

At present, agriculture still lies at the center of the district's economic structure. Thus, the building of the district economic structure must begin by using agriculture (which includes forestry and fishing) as the base for the development of industry and by carrying out distribution and circulation within the district well. In the lowlands, a diversified agriculture must be developed by concentrating on the production of grain (rice and subsidiary food crops) while vigorously developing the production of industrial crops and livestock; rapidly increasing the production of exported agricultural products and raw materials for the processing industry; endeavoring to accelerate production in order to meet the daily needs of the people within the district while producing many agricultural commodities; developing the strengths of the locality while expanding general production and business; and gradually establishing centralized, specialized farming areas in coordination with developing small-scale and decentralized production. In the hills and mountains, the districts must develop agro-forestry economies. In areas that have rivers, coastal areas and areas in which there are large bodies of water, the districts must develop agro-fishing economies.

The purposes of structuring the economy in these ways are to develop and make good use of the potentials that lie in labor, arable land, the trade sector and technical bases, help the districts extricate themselves from monoculture and subsistence production and provide them with the conditions required to

meet the grain needs and other needs of its population and quickly increase the output of agricultural commodities for supply to the state, for exportation and for use in the establishment of cooperation and economic ties with other units.

The development of industry within the district plays an extremely important role in developing agriculture and gradually advancing it to large-scale socialist production. Depending upon the characteristics and conditions of each place, the building of the district's industry includes developing small industry and the handicraft trades at cooperatives and developing industry, capital construction, communications-transportation and so forth within the district in order to establish an agro-industrial economic structure, agro-forestry-industrial economic structure, forestry-agricultural-industrial economic structure, agro-fishing-industrial economic structure or agro-forestry-fishing-industrial economic structure and create the conditions needed to stimulate the development of agriculture, forestry and fishing within the district.

Under present circumstances, the development of the sectors of the district's industry can take place in several main fields: the building of tool manufacturing units (agricultural implements, fishing equipment) and machine repair and energy installations supporting agriculture, forestry and fishing within the district; building processing plants (both pre-processing and finished processing) for agricultural, forestry and marine products; building units that produce consumer goods from local raw materials, raw materials supplied for contract work and raw materials obtained through cooperation and economic ties with other places; building basic units to support capital construction (units that produce building materials, project planning units and construction units); and building installations that provide communications-transportation, information and posts-telecommunications support.

In the building of material-technical bases and the application of technological advances, in addition to the units mentioned above, importance must be attached to resolving the problems being encountered with water conservancy, draft power, seed, the prevention and control of pests and diseases, veterinary services and material supply. Importance must also be attached to coordinating the building of material-technical bases and the application of technological advances with the building of towns and districts, the building of socio-economic clusters and the building of the new countryside.

A correct, suitable management system must be established to insure that the district and basic units control production, distribution and circulation, look after the daily needs of the people, maintain combat readiness, fight well and display self-reliance, initiative and creativity and insure that the district level truly becomes a comprehensive administrative-socialist economic management level and a planning level that has its own budget. Management by sector must be closely coordinated with management by territory within the district. The building of strong districts must go hand in hand with building strong provinces and strong sectors.

The 7th Plenum of the Party Central Committee decided: between now and 1990, we must endeavor to carry out comprehensive development in the more than 400 districts, beginning in the key districts, in those districts that are important from the standpoint of the economy or national defense.

A series of large jobs must be performed to meet the targets described above.

We must continue to carry out and amend district planning, organize production, assign management responsibilities to the district and place basic units under district management. Under the guidance of functional agencies on the central level and the guidance of the provinces, the districts must conduct good district and basic unit planning, planning that is closely tied to the master plan of the province. The district must closely coordinate production planning with the planning of distribution-circulation; economic planning with cultural, educational, public health and physical culture-sport planning and planned parenthood; and socio-economic planning with planning the development of the district military fortress and the maintenance of security and order within the district.

We must complete the assignment of management responsibilities and basic units to the district and turn over to the districts the remaining sectors and basic units, such as the fish, salt and transport sectors, state farms, state forestry sites, the grain corporation, the commerce corporation and the general supply corporation. Importance must be attached to assigning land and forests to collectives and the people to manage and use. The assignment of management responsibilities, the placing of basic units under district management must be carried out in conjunction with defining the authority and responsibilities of the upper and lower levels and balancing their interest. This reassignment of management responsibilities must yield practical returns and must not be dragged out over a long period of time or only involve general responsibilities. Before placing a basic unit under the management of the district, we must make sure that it has the necessary material base, cadres and organization, must shift its operations to an independent accounting system and the district must be made ready to take over the unit and manage it effectively.

We are continuing to carry out the socialist transformation of agriculture in the South and to strengthen and perfect the new production relations in the North. The building of the districts urgently requires that we complete the agricultural cooperativization program and intensify our effort to strengthen and gradually perfect the new production relations. Those districts in Nam Bo that have not completed cooperativization must closely tie their preparations for transformation and transformation at basic units to the development of the district and not wait until transformation has been completed to begin building the district. Greater use must be made of the role played by the district in supporting cooperatives and production collectives, especially places that are still weak. Cooperatives and production collectives must be solidified and strengthened by expanding the collective's production and business, strengthening collective ownership, increasing the amount of income earned from the collective economy and developing the household economy. Attention must be given to strengthening and making use of the role played by the state-operated agricultural, forestry, fishing and industrial units that

are subordinate to the district. The cooperation and ties with the state-operated units within the district that are subordinate to the province and the central level must be strengthened. We must establish broader cooperation and ties between support units and production units and gradually establish joint businesses and combines by crop, species of livestock, trade and job within the district.

It is necessary to provide for good distribution and circulation within the district and do a good job of transforming and controlling the district market. It is necessary to conduct good procurement activities and control the vast majority of agricultural, forest and marine products, consumer goods and handicraft products. Socialist commerce must be strengthened and vigorously developed, trade under the plan and the use of contracts under the plan must be increased and the organized market must be tightly managed. The only trade that should remain on the "free" market is direct trade between producers and consumers. The network of banks and credit cooperatives must be expanded and the activities of these organizations must be intensified. We must organize good joint businesses outside the plan between production units and the district commerce organization. On the basis of accelerating agricultural and industrial production and organizing distribution and circulation well, we must gradually improve the people's standard of living.

Plans must be formulated from the basic level upward in a way that truly maintains the independence of the basic unit. Units should not be pressured into accepting targets nor should targets be imposed by the upper level. Importance must be attached to developing existing potentials and establishing broader economic ties among the basic units within the district and among the districts within the province and within other provinces. At the same time, efforts must be made to increase exports and imports so that additional materials and technology can be obtained.

Building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland are the two strategic tasks of our party and people today. Therefore, the process of building the economy within the district is also the process of building the military fortress and security system within the district and establishing the battlefield deployment of the people's war, thereby meeting local combat and rear service support requirements and insuring the maintenance of political security and social order and safety. In the immediate future, the efforts of the entire country must be combined with a high spirit of self-reliance on the part of localities so that we can take urgent steps to build the districts in the six northern border provinces, especially the 31 districts and towns that lie along the border and the districts adjacent to them, in order to make them strong enough to firmly defend the border of the fatherland in every situation with the support of main force troops.

The building of the economic structure of the district and the improvement of the management system demand a strong and solid apparatus and a corps of cadres who possess good personal qualities and are competent. It is first of all necessary to strengthen the leadership of the district party committee; take positive steps to build a strong and solid district party organization in a manner closely linked to building pure, solid and strong village party organizations and the other party organizations on the basic level; and, make

use of the management function of the people's committee and the role played by the district and village people's councils and the mass organizations. Importance must be attached to strengthening the district's corps of cadres, especially the key cadres of the district party committee, the district and village party committees, party chapter committees and people's committees, the various offices and sections and the basic production and business units. Long-range cadre planning must be adopted so that the requirements involved in building the district can be met.

Building the district and strengthening the district level are efforts that must be closely led and guided by the central and provincial levels. However, it is mainly the work of the party organization and people of every district. The party committee and government on the district level must make themselves thoroughly familiar with the policy and establishing broader economic ties among the basic units within the district and among the districts within the province and within other provinces. At the same time, efforts must be made to increase exports and imports so that additional materials and technology can be obtained.

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Building the district and strengthening the district level are efforts that must be closely led and guided by the central and provincial levels. However, it is mainly the work of the party organization and people of every district.

The party committee and government on the district level must make themselves thoroughly familiar with the policy and the specifics involved in building the district, display self-reliance, initiative and creativity, gain experience while working and perform the jobs involved in building the district well. The efforts made by the district and its basic units combined with assistance from the central level and the province will create favorable conditions for the district and its basic units to develop their potentials.

Through the vigorous display of collective ownership by the working people, by launching an intense and continuous emulation movement to build the district among the basic units of each district and among the districts themselves and with the positive assistance of the province and the central level, we will succeed in making every district of our country strong and solid in every respect.

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STUDIES: THE LAWS OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION--
SOLIDARITY BETWEEN THE WORKING CLASS OF ONE COUNTRY AND THE WORKING CLASS OF
ALL OTHER COUNTRIES AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 85 pp 40-47

[Article by Quyet Tien]

[Text] Solidarity among the proletariat of all countries of the world was long ago raised by the founders of Marxism as one of the matters of vital importance to the proletarian revolution.

More than 1 century ago, in 1848, Marx and Engels concluded their famous book "The Communist Manifesto" with the great slogan: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" This slogan was based upon the fact that the proletarians of all countries share the same interests in their struggle against their common enemy, international capitalism. This slogan was also drawn from the realities of the proletariat's revolutionary struggle. As Karl Marx, the great father of the international proletariat, pointed out: "The experience of the past has proven that an attitude of disregard for this fraternal alliance--this alliance that must exist among the working men of the different countries of the world and must inspire them to stand shoulder to shoulder in the struggle to emancipate themselves--will be punished by all their individual efforts suffering the same defeat." (1) Moreover, Marx hoped that workers would not only recognize the need for, but also establish this international alliance in practice. He stated: "One of the major goals of the League (that is, the International League of Workingmen--QT) is to make the workingmen of all countries not only feel, but also act as brothers and comrades struggling within a single army to liberate themselves." (2)

The proletarian internationalism advanced by Marx and Engels consists of the following basic principles:

1. To achieve the goals of the revolutionary struggle, socialism and communism, the workers of the entire world must unite.
2. The working class and its party in all countries must adhere to the stand of Marxism--the only ideology of the working class.

3. Due to the communal nature of their interests and goals, the workers of the entire world must lend one another material and moral support in their common struggle against the exploiters, their struggle for social emancipation and national liberation.

4. Proletarian internationalism guarantees the equality of nations, guarantees their genuine freedom and true sovereignty.

5. The working class of every country has an international obligation to the international proletariat.

The dialectical oneness of the principles stated above forms the essence of proletarian internationalism.

In the new era of world history, the era of imperialism, Lenin developed upon and enhanced the proletarian internationalism introduced by Marx and Engels. Lenin's most distinguished contribution in this regard was the replacement of the slogan of Marx and Engels with a new slogan, one consistent with the nature and requirements of the new era. It is: "Proletarians of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite!"

In explaining why Lenin advanced this new slogan, Le Duan wrote:

"Since Marxism was born, the class struggle of the working class has also undergone marked stages of development in history. In the 'Communist Manifesto,' K. Marx and F. Engels introduced the slogan: 'Proletarians of all countries, unite!' This slogan was based on the views of K. Marx that the socialist revolution could only be victorious by winning victory at the same time in all countries and that the socialist revolution was the result of the class struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie within developed capitalist countries in which the antagonism between production forces and production relations had become profound and the development of the economy had caused class conflicts to occur, mainly between the working class and bourgeoisie. The workers of all countries must unite to topple the capitalist system and carry out the world proletarian revolution.

At the end of the 19th century, capitalism entered its final stage, the stage of imperialism. The bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries were not only exploiting the working class of their countries, but also oppressing and exploiting the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the world. The oppressed peoples became the close allies of the proletariat in the 'mother country' and their struggle for national independence became an integral part of the world proletarian revolution. For this reason, Lenin advanced the slogan: 'Proletarians of the all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite!' This marked a new stage of development in the class struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie throughout the world. In order for the proletarian revolution to be successful, the working class must unite with the national liberation movement and, in order for the national liberation movement to be victorious, it must become part of the proletarian revolutionary movement. This argument countered the mistaken belief that the proletarian revolution could only win victory in the developed capitalist countries and that

countries with backward economies could not carry out the proletarian revolution."(3)

At the start of this century, before the Russian October Revolution won victory, Lenin not only proved that the proletarian revolution could break through the imperialist system at its weakest point, at a place that might be underdeveloped economically, but also foresaw the inevitable birth of the national liberation movement and the need to closely tie it to the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

In the era of imperialism, Lenin saw the national liberation movement of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples as a social and political force that the world bourgeoisie would ultimately not be able to use as reserves in its struggle with the proletariat. Lenin maintained that although it represents different segments of society and is plagued by certain internal antagonisms, the national liberation movement possesses tremendous revolutionary potential and is a positive and independent force within the world revolutionary struggle. The proletariat must coordinate its actions and align itself with the national liberation movement. Lenin pointed out that the struggle by nations to liberate themselves from imperialism is not only a national struggle, not only carries with it general demands for democracy, but will surely turn against capitalism and imperialism as well. Lenin scientifically argued that, under the new historical conditions that exist, nations that have thrown off the yoke of colonialism are capable of advancing directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. He emphasized that Marxists, in their attitude toward the national liberation issue, must resolutely and truly lend moral and material support to the revolutionary elements within national liberation movements. He maintained that, in the era of imperialism, "the socialist revolution will not only or primarily be a struggle waged by the revolutionary proletariat in each country against its country's bourgeoisie; more than this, it will be the struggle by all colonies and all countries oppressed by imperialism, by all dependent countries against international imperialism."(4)

This scientific thinking of Lenin concerning the national liberation movement as well as the nature of the world socialist revolution (of which the national liberation is a part, is one of its moving forces) opened bright prospects for the nations struggling for national liberation and social emancipation and laid a solid ideological, theoretical and political foundation for consolidating the alliance between the proletariat in the "mother countries" and the forces of national liberation.

Following the victory of the Russian October Revolution, Lenin also stressed the need for international solidarity between Soviet Russia and the oppressed peoples. Lenin said: "Our Soviet republic must gather around itself all the awakening peoples of the East so that we can join them in carrying out the struggle against international imperialism."(5) He said: "Today, it is obvious that this revolutionary movement of the peoples of the East can only develop victoriously, can only be successful by establishing direct ties with the revolutionary struggle being waged by our Soviet republic against international imperialism."(6)

Thus, Lenin long ago laid the ideological, theoretical and political foundation of the militant alliance among all the different components of the world socialist revolution: the victorious proletariat in a socialist country, the proletarian movement in the "mother countries" and the revolutionary movement in the colonies and dependent countries. This militant alliance in the spirit of proletarian internationalism was subsequently expanded into the broad alliance among the three revolutionary currents of our age, an age that has seen the formation and development of the world socialist system, seen this system become the pillar of the world revolution.

As we know, the complete body of thinking on proletarian internationalism was presented in deep detail by Lenin in his famous thesis on the national and colonial questions. In that thesis, Lenin clearly defined the internationalist attitude of the communists, Marxists and workers, in general, active within the different arenas of the world revolution: in the socialist country, in the capitalist countries and in the colonies and dependent countries. The thinking concerning proletarian internationalism that Lenin elaborated has been and continues to be of important value in guiding the cause of revolution and peace of the people of the world today and for many years to come.

In our study of proletarian internationalism, we must not overlook the following famous words of Lenin: "There is but one true internationalism: working unselfishly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle within one's country and supporting (through propaganda, sympathy and every possible form of material assistance) this struggle, this line and only this line in all countries without exception." (7) Lenin also said that proletarian internationalism demands: "1) The interests of the proletariat of a country in their struggle must be subordinate to the interests of the proletariat in the international struggle; 2) those nations that have won victory over the bourgeoisie must have the ability and willingly make very large sacrifices to topple international capitalism." (8)

The above is sufficient to show that proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of Marx, Engels and Lenin, is the perfect combination of the national and international factors and properly combines international interests and national interests--interests that can reasonably be viewed as representing the dialectical unity of opposites, a unity which, as Lenin said, "the general only exists within the specific, through the specific. Every specific (this or that) is also something general. Everything general (a part, an aspect or a quality) is also something specific." Because of this characteristic, proletarian internationalism is opposed to bigoted nationalism, selfish nationalism and chauvinist nationalism, which, because of their selfish nature, are concerned only with the interests of one's nation and show no regard for and even violate, the legitimate interests of other nations, which is the same thing as violating the common interests of the proletariat and the people of the world. Proletarian internationalism is also opposed to national nihilism, which denies the existence of nations and national interest. In essence, all of these erroneous kinds of thinking are expressions of bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalism born of the selfish interests of the non-proletarian classes, mainly the bourgeois exploiters. They have nothing in

common at all with the genuine proletarian internationalism of Marxism-Leninism.

As is the case with everything else, proletarian internationalism has a history of its own. It came into being and has developed with the birth and victorious development of the revolutionary movement of the international working class. Of course, the essence of proletarian internationalism as the solidarity of the working class, of the communists of all countries in their struggle for common goals, as their solidarity with the struggle of nations for national liberation and social progress and as the voluntary cooperation of fraternal parties in respecting each other's equality and independence never changes. However, the substance of proletarian internationalism is always being enriched and enhanced and the forms through which it is expressed are always varied and change as historical conditions, places and times change. The substance of proletarian internationalism was richer during the time of Lenin than it was during the time of Marx and Engels. And in the present age, an age in which national independence, democracy and socialism are closely tied to one another, in which the three revolutionary currents are taking the offensive against world imperialism, proletarian internationalism absolutely must encompass the closely related goals of national independence, democracy and socialism, absolutely must attract new revolutionary forces to the common struggle against international imperialism.

In history, proletarian internationalism has developed in many different stages. However, in broad terms, its development has been marked by the following two major stages: the stage during which the proletariat was still being oppressed and exploited, was struggling to seize political power and the stage during which the working class seizes political power and becomes the force leading the government in many countries. Corresponding to this shift from one stage to the next was the development of proletarian internationalism into socialist internationalism. The development of internationalism to a higher stage is marked not only by fundamental changes in the social circumstances and conditions of the working class once it becomes the ruling class, not only by the vanguard party of the working class becoming the party in power, but also by the emergence of new tasks that the working class and its party must face: building socialism, protecting the gains of the revolution, organizing cooperation with the other socialist countries and consolidating the international position of world socialism. All of these factors combined determine the new features of socialist internationalism.

Relations among the socialist countries are based on Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. In the international relations among socialist countries, socialist internationalism encompasses an entire body of constituent principles: lasting friendship; diversified forms of cooperation; coordination and fraternal mutual assistance in building socialism as well as in protecting the gains of socialism; respect for one another's sovereignty and independence; non-intervention in one another's internal affairs; equality, voluntary association and mutual benefit. These principles are reflected in the day to day relations among the socialist countries, especially in the treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance that they sign with one another.

Facts have proven that socialist internationalism is a source of tremendous strength, one that has helped to rapidly strengthen the world socialist system--the force determining the direction in which the society of man will develop, the decisive force in intensifying the struggle by the people of the world for the noble goals of our times. The strength of socialist internationalism is especially evident in the effective activities of CEMA as well as the countries of the Warsaw Pact.

During the past three-quarters of a century, the political face of the world has undergone fundamental changes in a direction increasingly favorable to the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace. This situation would not exist were it not for the international solidarity among the workers of all countries, were it not for the strategic alliance between the world socialist system and the national liberation movement and the proletarian movement within the capitalist countries, were it not for proletarian internationalism. And, mankind will never forget the service performed by the communists and people of the Soviet Union, in whom Lenin's spirit of internationalism is deeply instilled and who, by their actions, have made the largest contributions to the world revolution as well as to the cause of safeguarding peace on earth.

All of these facts prove that solidarity between the workers of one country and the workers of all other countries, that proletarian internationalism is a law of universal significance in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Today, more than ever before, the world situation demands that we strengthen the militant solidarity among the three revolutionary currents of our times as well as among the forces of revolution and peace on earth. Only in this way can we defeat the counter-attack by international imperialism, headed by the United States, insure that the cause of world revolution continually develops and guarantee that world peace is firmly maintained in the face of the mad plots of the imperialists, who seek to push mankind into a war of global nuclear destruction. And, as in the past, the practice of proletarian internationalism demands that we wage a determined struggle against every form of bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalism, the most radical of which is the big country nationalism of Beijing. It also demands that we struggle against every attempt to distort and even deny the value of Marxism-Leninism, the only ideological foundation underlying the solidarity among the workers of all countries, underlying proletarian internationalism.

In our country, the universal law mentioned above has been creatively applied in the course of the socialist revolution and socialist construction ever since our party was born and began leading the Vietnamese revolution.

As everyone knows, President Ho Chi Minh, the founder of our party, was not only an ardent patriot, but also a great international militant. He is the best of all symbols of the perfect combination of ardent patriotism and the pure proletarian international spirit. This is because he was deeply imbued with Marxism-Leninism, the great revolutionary doctrine of the international working class, and used this doctrine in the cause of national liberation and

liberation of the class and consistently practiced this doctrine's proletarian internationalism throughout his great life as a revolutionary.

Under the light of Marxism-Leninism, President Ho was quick to see that "capitalism is a leech with one sucker attached to the proletariat in the mother country and another sucker attached to the proletariat in the colonies. To kill this beast, we must cut off both suckers at the same time. If we only cut off one, the other will continue to suck the blood of the proletariat, the leech will continue to live and the severed sucker will regrow." (9) Thus, he maintained that to topple imperialism, the revolution of the colonial people's must be coordinated with the revolution of the proletariat in the imperialist countries, considering them to be the two wings of the world proletarian revolution. He emphasized that "the liberation revolution within the oppressed countries and the proletarian revolution in the oppressor country must support each other." (10) In particular, he always taught our people to be grateful to the people of the Soviet Union, the vanguard in the cause of the liberation of mankind, as well as grateful to Lenin, the great leader who was so very concerned with the suffering of the people and the oppressed nations and who charted the course for their struggle to liberate themselves from the rule of imperialism.

Under the leadership and tutelage of President Ho, our party has following the correct revolutionary course since the very day it was founded: the course of advancing from the people's national democratic revolution to a socialist revolution, the course of properly combining the interests of the nation with international interests, the course of closely uniting with the working class and laboring people of the entire world in the struggle against imperialism, the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation.

The great victories that our country's revolution has won over the past half-century and more were won primarily as a result of the struggle waged by our working class and people under the leadership of the party, a struggle filled with sacrifice. However, these victories were also won as a result of international support and assistance, mainly from the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. As for themselves, our working class and people can, of course, take legitimate pride in having made worthy contributions to the cause of world revolution, especially to the cause of liberating the oppressed peoples. And, our people have made these contributions not only by means of the revolutionary struggle waged within their own country, especially the great resistance against the United States for national salvation, but also by personally fulfilling their international obligation to the fraternal peoples on the Indochina peninsula.

President Ho succinctly summarized the experiences of the Vietnamese revolution and the lessons of the Russian October Revolution as follows:

--"Patriotism must be closely combined with the proletarian international spirit within the national liberation revolution as well as the socialist revolution. Today, the national liberation revolution is an integral part of the worldwide proletarian revolution. The national liberation revolution must develop into a socialist revolution if it is to win total victory. Victory in the struggle for independence and freedom of nations is closely tied to the

positive support and assistance of the socialist camp and the worker movement in the capitalist countries.

'Proletarians and all oppressed peoples, unite'--this sacred appeal made by Lenin still rings in our ears, reminding us to always protect and strengthen the great solidarity among the forces of revolution for the sake of the common interests of the working class and mankind."(11)

These words of advice from President Ho will be implemented on a consistent basis by our party and people by promoting the cause of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland and continuing to fulfill our international obligation to the fraternal peoples of Cambodia and Laos while strengthening our cooperation and mutual assistance with the fraternal socialist countries, strengthening the militant solidarity that we share with the communist parties, the working class and laboring people of the entire world for the sake of victory in the struggle for the noble goals of our times: peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. Marx-Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, Volume III, 1982, p 20.
2. Ibid., p 180.
3. Le Duan: "Chu nghĩa yêu nước và chủ nghĩa quốc tế vô sản"[Patriotism and Proletarian Internationalism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1979, pp 64-65.
4. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, Volume 39, p 370.
5. Ibid., p 372.
6. Ibid., p 360.
7. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Book II, Part I, p 36.
8. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Book II, Part II, p 430.
9. Ho Chi Minh: "Kết hợp chặt chẽ lòng yêu nước với tinh thần quốc tế vô sản"[Closely Combining Patriotism and the Proletarian International Spirit], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 57.
10. Ibid., p 137.
11. Ibid., pp 200-201.

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IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES: "BANQUETS"

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 85 pp 48-50

[Article by Duong Tung]

[Text] In everyday life, there is no shortage of banquets: there are wedding banquets, banquets to celebrate the birth of a couple's first child, banquets to celebrate the opening of a newly constructed project, banquets on the occasion of a conference to review work, banquets on holidays, Tet banquets and so forth. On these occasions, people come together in good will, raise their glasses in toasts, wish one another well and take pride in one another.

These are banquets as banquets should be.

However, at many places now, there are more than a few banquets that are not banquets in the true sense of the word. The people who attend these banquets are revelers out to drink it up and spend very large sums of money belonging to the state or the collective. Excuses are found to hold a banquet at conferences that require no banquet at all. Some banquets that should be nothing more than modest occasions are blown into huge, lavish affairs. There are banquets of all kinds and descriptions: dinners, suppers, stand up dinners and sit down banquets. Some places serve genuine Napoleon brandy. At other places, the "hot stuff" is 100 proof rice wine. Economic agencies put on banquets with an "economic" theme. The banquets of cultural agencies have a "cultural theme." Every place has its own specialty that it serves. Banquets are public at some places and private, "closed door" affairs at other places. They have become such formal affairs that the menus even include swallows' nests and whole lobsters!

At many places and units, eating and drinking are becoming the "thing to do." It is as though a meeting cannot be held without having something to eat. Organizers worry that they will be considered "cheap" or less of a person (!) if anything is lacking. They worry, and would find it simply intolerable, that one of their guests might have had a little more to eat or drink somewhere else. To them, not having something to eat is one thing, but once something is served, it must be the very best they have to offer. They compete with one another over how sumptuous a meal they can put together!

Let us take a look and see how a certain agency goes about organizing a conference to conduct a preliminary review of its work. What kind of reception are the delegates given? Their day starts with a large bowl of hot noodles for breakfast. At mid-morning, a few cases of beer or coffee are served as refreshment. The delegates are then offered filtered cigarettes and Moc Cau tea. The smoke rises above their heads in swirls and a hearty aroma fills the room. Up on the dais, the chairman is giving a seemingly interminable speech. Out in the room, waitresses fly back and forth like shuttles. The delegates sit listening with their eyes half-closed, their heads occasionally nodding. Then, at mid-day, they are invited to join in a "little toast" to celebrate their achievement. Although it is called a "little toast," one look at the table reveals the host's good taste. In the afternoon, when they depart, each delegate is given a small package to take home containing a little of the area's cinnamon as a present to their children. It is truly a matter of "a warm welcome in the morning, a hearty lunch at mid-day, a parting gift in the afternoon."

This is how a conference convened to conduct a preliminary or final review of work is held. The other types of conferences, such as conferences to celebrate achievements, training conferences, symposiums and so forth generally follow the same "motif," with their success also being measured by how well those in attendance were wined and dined. Even some places that have held meetings to discuss ways to economize or discuss government bonds have felt it necessary to serve pig pudding or blood pudding and "bend a few elbows." Cattle have even been slaughtered just to celebrate the awarding of a certificate of commendation! Then there are the receptions and farewell parties for high-ranking guests, for persons who have come to conduct an inspection, to visit or to exchange experiences, for visitors from the emulation department, for journalists, for visitors from the branch bank or supply office, for trading partners and so forth. These are all "important events" that absolutely must be well organized and for which a warm reception simply must be provided! Thus, the occasions for banquets and receptions are countless. Banquets and receptions are often followed by another banquet or reception in just a few days.

Actually, many people have no liking at all for such costly and exhausting affairs. At a time when circumstances are difficult and everything is in short supply, running all over the place to put together a banquet or reception is the furthest thing from their mind. They are irked even more by guests who "suggest" that their arrival be an occasion for a banquet or reception. But there are also persons who do have a true liking for heavy drinking. They contend that a little "taste" breaks the ice and that a conference with a banquet is a fashionable conference. Moreover, this is the only opportunity that cadres and personnel get to "improve" things for themselves!

We are not opposed to banquets that fill a legitimate need, to receptions that are necessary. It is normal to arrange a nice dinner for a conference being attended by delegates who are travelling long distances. And a locality or unit that has a guest who has arrived on assignment should organize a proper reception. Holding a banquet to mark some happy occasion and stimulate the mass movement is something that should be done. However, we cannot condone

"banquets" that go beyond their limits, that become something other than a banquet and consume far too much money and time of the state and the collective. In view of the country's present circumstances, frugality must be an issue of very high priority. Frugality is not only a national policy, a matter of strategy, an economic issue, it is also a mandate of the conscience and feelings of each of us. Every dong of our money, every bowl of rice represents the sweat, tears and even the blood of our fellow countrymen and soldiers. Countless persons at forward bases and on the islands are experiencing shortages of everything! Tremendous efforts are being made to reduce the cost of producing many different kinds of industrial goods by a single hao, a single dong! Countless fields are in need of pesticide, of another kilogram of nitrogen fertilizer! In the cause of building and defending the fatherland, there are very many examples of collectives and individuals who are trying every hour of every day to save every dong, every drop of oil, every kilogram of coal that they can and racing against time to record many achievements in their production and combat. Some local party organizations and governments must work extremely hard just to allocate 10 dong for a monthly lunch subsidy for each child attending a child care center. Yet, at other places, there are people gorging themselves on meals costing thousands of dong per person. A certain school that has an enrollment of only a few hundred students spent a full 120,000 dong on one dinner to celebrate its being awarded a medal! The hotel bill for entertainment, food and lodging for a conference held by a certain ministry came to nearly 1 million dong! The income of the hotel sector of a certain municipality from banquets and receptions was 1 billion dong for one 6-month period! In the space of 1 year, the localities and units hold countless meetings and receptions! Billions of dong, untold tons of rice and meat and countless valuable products are spent and consumed for no good reason from one end of the country to the other! To spend money that you don't have--just thinking about it makes a person angry!

This is not to mention the waste of manpower and time. For a reception, a host is needed. For a banquet, cooks and waitresses are needed. After the guest of honor, the host and the official delegates have been fed, the service personnel must also be fed. This is a matter of common courtesy. One conference of 500 delegates that was scheduled to last for 3 days and for which some 400 service workers were provided actually went on for 7 days. The final cost was astronomical. And, more than a few words of criticism were also heard.

Also deserving of attention is that such lavish banquets are sometimes the cause of much disagreement, of a loss of internal unity. In addition, it is there that the habits of smoking and drinking, of constantly demanding favors, of lying often get their start and begin their corruption of man. And, these trays of food and glasses of wine have given rise to negative phenomena. Some persons have used banquets and receptions to show others what they have achieved or conceal mistakes, to lie to superiors or deceive public opinion, to console or flatter persons of position and authority and to conspire with others and misappropriate materials and goods of the state. Have there not been actual incidents of persons "fishing in troubled waters," of dipping their hands into the till and engaging in embezzlement through these "drinking bouts"? Are not some persons made to "eat their own words" because of these "rounds of drinking"?

To be sure, someone will raise the question where do they get the money, grain and food for such wasteful banquets and receptions? With all due respect: there are very many ways. The "banquet magicians" have a bag full of tricks for getting their way. They can "contract" with a unit to convene a conference (usually model units, units that have had few visitors over a long period of time or units that are located at places known for their scenic beauty). They can ask for the help of a "brotherhood" agency or locality. They can "order" units on the lower level to contribute money or products. They can apply regulations and policies of the state in a "creative," "flexible" manner. Ordinarily, they cover expenses against one account with funds from another; they "work" the difference between prices on the outside and inside prices; they pad the list of persons attending the conference; they submit phony figures and fake documentation or do some "juggling" to get their hands on cash to spend, etc.

The more we think about it, the more we find wrong with these "banquets" and the heavy drinking that goes along with them. They cause economic and financial harm and corrupt the virtues and dignity of man. They create a bad habit, an unwholesome lifestyle in society. They establish as an attitude, as a general rule that food must be served at every conference, that heavy drinking is the order of the day every time a guest arrives just as it was under the corrupt "village affairs" custom of the village chief and village officials of olden days. It is not surprising that our party and state have frequently criticized this bad practice. When he was alive, President Ho constantly reminded cadres and party members to set a good example for the masses, oppose all forms of wasteful banquets and heavy drinking and practice strict frugality. He called "lavish banquets" a "lack of revolutionary virtue." It is a lack of revolutionary virtue because "while our people are working hard day and night, a small number of persons are drinking at every opportunity that presents itself and when they start drinking, they drink a lot, not a little!"(1)

It has clearly come time for a determined effort to rid ourselves of this ill of "banquets" and the heavy drinking that goes along with them.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve xay dung Dang,"[On Party Building], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, p 218.

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EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS CONCERNING PRESENT EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH THE SOCIALIST WAY
OF LIFE IN VIETNAM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 85 pp 51-62, 88

[Text] Editorial Note: recently, TAP CHI CONG SAN held a scientific conference on present efforts to establish the socialist way of life in Vietnam. Participating in the conference were: Ha Xuan Truong, Tran Do, Vu Mao, Nong Quoc Chan, Quang Dam, Hong Long, Bui Van Nguyen, Le Anh Tra, Tuong Lai, Phan Lang, Duc Minh, Vo Quy, Bui Dang Duy, Dang Thanh Le, Do Huy, Bui Ngoc Trinh, Hoang Vinh, Le Viet Thu and others. The conferees discussed the topics of way of life and lifestyle, way of life and mode of production, examined the current way of life in our country and confirmed that we are fully capable, even in this initial stage, of beginning to create a society whose way of life is beautiful even though its material standard of living is still not high. They proposed some important ways to establish the socialist way of life in Vietnam and promote the campaign to implement the new lifestyle in accordance with the 25 October 1984 directive issued by the Party Secretariat.

Due to the limited amount of space available, we have printed excerpts from the interesting and wide-ranging presentations made at this conference.

Ha Xuan Truong:

A way of life is life reflected through standards and forms of social activity that are related, either directly or indirectly, to production and based on certain ideals. A way of life is how, in which manner and for which ideals a life is lived. In other words, our way of life is the culture of our life. In our country, the terms way of life and lifestyle are generally used interchangeably, even in the documents of the party and state. From an academic standpoint, it would be better if a precise distinction were made between these two terms. Way of life is a broader concept than lifestyle. A lifestyle is specific aspects of life that have become routine, have become deeply ingrained in life, as habits, that is, have become one's "style." The word "way" brings to mind, perhaps too readily, a pattern, an external form; however, terms, in general, are somewhat subjective in nature and are often the result of habit.

Marx once said: every mode of production creates a corresponding mode of life. Both production forces and production relations control and determine the way of life of a society. The foremost standard of the socialist way of life in our country is to live through one's labor, live on what the economy can provide. This is the way of life that is consistent with the laws of economic development and the ideals of socialism. Material enjoyment that lies outside the capabilities of the country's economy usually causes imbalance within the economy which, in turn, leads to disorder in society. Distribution that does not reflect socialist production relations exacerbates this disorder. However, a way of life is not only dependent upon the mode of production. It has an existence of its own, even though only in relative terms, in that it is formed and developed in accordance with the relatively independent laws of culture. In my opinion, while a way of life is determined by the economy and by the culture, it is something that is part of culture and reflects the cultural standards of a people. The resolution of the 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Party proposed that we begin to create a society that has a beautiful way of life even though our economy is not yet highly developed. This is a correct approach. As supporters of it, it is our feeling that the philosophy of life, world view and social thinking play the decisive role in a way of life. Whether a way of life is feudal, bourgeois or socialist depends on whether the world view, philosophy of life and social thinking are feudal, bourgeois or socialist.

An ideological and cultural struggle is taking place in the world between socialism and capitalism. In this struggle, the fight for the young generation is being fought by many different methods, fought through many different efforts to spread a way of life, most importantly in the fields of ideology, culture and art. In everything from clothing "fashions," hairstyles and eye makeup to music, dance, cinematography, literature and the other arts, from cultural exchanges and tourism to international festivals, the capitalist countries are trying to prove the superiority of the bourgeois way of life. With even greater arrogance, the U.S. imperialists are maintaining that the "American way of life" is the best. In contrast to the feudal class, which tried to separate the way of life of the aristocracy from the way of life of the people, who were controlled by their ideology, the bourgeoisie has broken down this barrier and created the bourgeois way of life as something classless, something that knows no national boundary, as "every man's way of life." In recent decades, the capitalist countries and the international bourgeoisie have been doing everything possible to spread their way of life. Never before have their mass media been used as intensely as they are being used today to spread the bourgeois way of life. In essence, they are spreading the bourgeois philosophy of life and world view in the period of the decline of capitalism and this struggle is essentially a long and hard-fought struggle over ideology, philosophy of life and world view between the bourgeoisie and the working class, between capitalism and socialism. Therefore, establishing the socialist way of life is not merely a matter of organization and guidance, it is mainly a matter of education, a matter of teaching the Marxist-Leninist philosophy of life and world view from childhood and through increasingly sophisticated methods, a matter of teaching the ethics of the new citizen together with forms of interpersonal relations and behavior of a cultured nature. In this educational effort, aesthetics, literature and art play a very important role. Some of our youths, having

been quickly poisoned by the corrupt customs and bad practices of the old society, are wide open to attack by bizarre styles, by vulgar tastes in art from foreign countries or in the form of remnants of U.S. neo-colonialism. This is due, in very large part, to the fact that we have given little attention to or ignored the need for education in our philosophy of life and world view and the fact that we long ago forgot about teaching the virtues of the new citizen and thoroughly criticizing the bourgeois way of life, the bourgeois philosophy of life and world view within the school as well as in society. Social relations are an important part of a way of life. However, the major portion of a way of life stems from a *raison d'etre* based on an ideology and, in addition, from the beautiful traditions of the nation. The teaching of national history and the teaching of national pride are of special importance in the establishment of Vietnam's new, socialist way of life. Establishing a modern Vietnamese way of life that is consistent with the country's economic conditions and, at the same time, has a positive impact upon the formation of the new economy and the new system, this is one of the fundamental requirements in the work of molding the new Vietnamese and building the new culture.

The way of life is a category of culture, one that deals with aesthetics and ethics and has a distinct class character. As a result, it demands a very high degree of self-awareness and also requires thorough organization and close leadership. The way of life that we are now establishing in Vietnam is the socialist way of life--the way of life of collective ownership. Collective ownership, a basic part of the line on the socialist revolution in our country, has been deeply analyzed and fully developed by Le Duan. This spirit must be fully expressed in the way of life that we are struggling to establish, a way of life that encompasses personal, family and social relations, the way of life of "one for all, all for one," of "the free development of each person being the prerequisite to the free development of all." The way of life of collective ownership respects the individual but is the complete opposite of the way of life of the bourgeoisie, of individualism and pragmatism, which are indifferent to the suffering of man. The lifestyle of collective ownership respects discipline and order but is the complete opposite of the harsh, coercive and patriarchal way of life of feudalism nor does it tolerate the pessimism, cowardice and permissiveness of the petty bourgeoisie.

A way of life is partly dependent upon and partly not dependent upon the standard of living. The higher the standard of living is, the easier it becomes to establish a beautiful, civilized way of life. However, a high standard of living does not always lead to a beautiful way of life. The standard of living of many western countries is very high but their way of life is undergoing serious decay. "Back to our cultural roots" is the cry of many persons there. On the other hand, a standard of living that is too low, that fails to meet the essential, minimum needs of normal material life also causes decay in a country's way of life. If the economy and society are not well organized, this decay becomes even more serious and has far-reaching consequences for the future of the country. Over the past several years, our party and state have adopted many policies and measures designed to stabilize and gradually improve the standard of living of the people, mainly from the standpoint of their food, clothing, shelter and transportation. The

achievements that have been recorded are large and very significant but many difficulties are still being encountered in all areas of production, organization and management. These difficulties inevitably affect the efforts to establish our way of life. For this reason, special attention must be given at this point in time to establishing the beautiful way of life of the Vietnamese. While the standard of living is directly related to our way of life, it is not the most decisive factor. Although our standard of living is not high, we can still gradually establish a beautiful way of life. In actuality, the sectors and mass organizations, from the central to the local levels, have done much in this area. In the North, movements such as the "cultured family" movement, the "beautiful villages, good fields" movement, the "four projects" movement, the "raise healthy, obedient children" movement, the "speak well, work well" movement and so forth were launched quite some time ago, even in the flames of war. However, in recent years, the moral decay that has occurred among some people and cadres has given many persons cause for concern over a decline in ethics, in character within society. Establishing the new way of life is becoming a pressing issue. Le Duan has often reminded us: under the circumstances of our country, it is necessary to attach full importance to the people's sense of awareness and use it to the fullest possible extent. In our opinion, the greatest cause for concern today is not the negative phenomena within society, but the attitude of indifference toward these phenomena, an attitude that sometimes can even be found among some persons who are responsible for maintaining social order and security. Indifference is a failure of ethics that cannot be tolerated in any society, especially under our system of collective ownership.

The old way of life is fading away, the new way of life is taking shape. Transitional periods are always periods in which confusion easily occurs, good is mixed with the bad and no clear system of social values yet exists. It is correct for us to oppose the corrupt customs and practices of feudalism but it is regrettable that some persons have adopted the bad practices of the bourgeoisie. We must be vigilant against persons who, in the name of Marxists, defend bourgeois tendencies. Our sociological research, therefore, must be thorough and serious. Along with this research, we must soon adopt regulations and quickly make them standard practice within society.

Establishing the new way of life in our country while organizing and managing society in a scientific and rational manner involve a sharp struggle in the fields of culture and ideology, a struggle in which the issue of foremost importance is the need to gradually establish the new order while intensifying our efforts to teach and widely spread the new philosophy of life and world view from within the school to society, from within each unit to each individual. In this struggle, literature and art play an extremely important role. The highest function of literature and art is to teach the philosophy of life and world view to the public through imagery, through analysis of life, through realism in art that deeply reflects truth and ideals. There is nothing that can take the place of literature and art in molding the thoughts and feelings that are at the foundation of the beautiful way of life of the new man...

Quang Dam:

To begin with, it can be stated that the relationship between the mode of production and the way of life mirrors the relationship between the material and the spiritual, the relationship between existence and the consciousness of man and the relationship between the base and the superstructure of society. The laws that govern these three relationships also determine, for the most part, how the relationship between the mode of production and the way of life develops. This applies to both theory and practice. Marxism makes the observation that every mode of production has a corresponding way of life.

Of course, there is more to it than simply the effect that the mode of production has. Marx criticized persons who begin by acknowledging that the decisive role in history is played, in the final analysis, by the production and reproduction of real life and wind up considering the economic factor to be the sole determining factor.

Under certain conditions and to a certain extent, the consciousness and thinking of man have an important reciprocal impact upon material production, upon social existence. There are also cases in which they are the factors of decisive importance in transforming nature and existence. The culture of society can also have an important reciprocal impact, sometimes the decisive impact, upon the economy even though, over the long range and in the final analysis, the most decisive role is played by the economy.

Moreover, man does not live only within the framework of the mode of production. As a social being, man lives within communities of varying size (the family, the class, the nation...) and in a wide range of geographical settings, ecological environments and socio-cultural centers. His way of life bears more than just the imprint of his class, the imprint of his mode of production. Along with these, it also bears the many distinctive imprints of the mountains or lowlands, the cities or the countryside, youth or the elderly, mental labor or manual labor, etc. Ignoring the imprint of class, many bourgeois theorists in cultural affairs point to the many different ways of life that have emerged from the factors mentioned above and emphasizing the importance of personal interests and tastes, argue that there are no general ways of life of any significance, only the issue of personal choice by the individual from among a myriad of "lifestyles," "ways of living," "types of life"...that change from day to day in ways that cannot be anticipated like clothing fashions and shoe styles. This argument, of course, is endorsed by consumer societies and the capitalist market, despite the uncertainty that it holds for economic and cultural life. The opposite of this occurred about 10 years ago in "poorer than poor" China when Maoism brutally imposed upon every circle of society an ascetic, unexciting and stifling "proletarian" way of life that occasionally erupted into furious and bitter strife.

In order for every socio-economic form to develop in a steady and wholesome manner, there must be basic conformity and harmony within the various fields of activity, most importantly conformity and harmony between the economic base and the superstructure (politics, culture, ideology...). Movement toward increasing conformity and harmony is one of the ideal conditions underlying the wholesome development of a country, a society. Man's life since the dawn

of history shows that this ideal condition does not easily become a widespread, permanent reality.

The socialist world has not found it easy to establish nor has it succeeded in establishing all the conformity and harmony it desires. However, the growing crises of the new world and the pervasive, full-scale crisis of the old world are fundamentally different. Historical materialism and scientific socialism permit us to state that the conformity between the socialist system of ownership and the requirements and trend of development of production in modern times is the most decisive factor in creating favorable basic conditions for the kinds of conformity and harmony necessary for socialism and communism.

In practical terms, there are no ready formulas for the problems we face, formulas that guarantee success as soon as we turn our efforts to solving a particular problem. The same applies to the relationship between the mode of production and the way of life. Pointing to the fact that the economy plays the most decisive role, one view holds that if the material standard of living provided by the mode of production is high, the way of life reflects this high level of development in knowledge and culture, in aesthetics and ethics of behavior. If the mode of production only provides a low standard of living, the way of life is also inferior. This is the view of a materialism that is shallow and mechanical, a materialism that evades the responsibility of culture or denies the relative independence of culture. In contrast to this and overemphasizing this independence and the subjective dynamism of consciousness and thinking is the view that cultural and ideological work can establish a beautiful socialist way of life and effectively eliminate the corrupt customs and bad practices within society regardless of how underdeveloped the mode of production and how complicated the situation surrounding it might be. Then, there is the view of idealism, of utopian socialism of disregarding the role played by the economy, a role that is in the nature of a law, or arguing that the economy is important while actually evading one's responsibility in the face of public opinion and, it can be said, even evading one's responsibility under the law.

The observation that there is a reciprocal impact between the economy and culture as well as between the mode of production and way of life demands that we view both of these relationships the same way and that both be placed within the framework of a given socio-economic form. The level of development of the economy and mode of production can be high or low. The level of development of the culture and way of life can also be high or low. Viewed from another perspective, the culture can reflect things that are positive or things that are negative. The economy can also reflect things that are positive or things that are negative. Under different conditions, a level of economic and cultural development that is high does not necessarily have a positive impact and one that is low does not necessarily have a negative impact. Throughout the war of resistance against France, the level of development of the national economy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was very low and our ability to conduct cultural activities and organize cultural and social life was very limited. However, both the economy and culture had a positive impact upon each other, upon the resistance war effort, upon the political system. In the developed capitalist countries of Western Europe, in

the United States, Japan and so forth, the level of modern economic and cultural development is markedly higher than in any other period of history but it is having less of a positive impact and more of a negative impact compared to the Renaissance-Enlightenment Period, the period of the French bourgeois revolution, the period of the British bourgeois revolution in Western Europe, the time of Washington in America, the time of Minh Tri Tien Hoang in Japan, both upon itself, in particular, and upon the capitalist socio-economic form, in general.

Examined separately, both the economy and the culture, both the mode of production and the way of life consist of elements that are always developing and having a coordinated impact upon one another...

Le Anh Tra:

A way of life is closely tied to a socio-economic form and every socio-economic form has a way of life that corresponds to its mode of production, its political system. Thus, establishing a way of life in fundamental terms involves more than just transforming or establishing a number of customs, habits and lifestyles, it involves building an entire socio-economic system, establishing an entire culture and molding new people. Establishing the new lifestyle is an important part of establishing the new way of life, but it is not everything. The new lifestyle cannot be established in thorough detail if we do not simultaneously keep working to establish the new way of life in its entirety. Our present efforts to establish the new lifestyle must also be closely tied to our efforts to build the new life, mold the new man and establish the new culture, closely tied to the "struggle between the two paths."

The development of the social system, the culture and our way of life and lifestyle must be well coordinated. A lifestyle cannot be established in isolation from the political and social environment to which it corresponds. For example, the socialist way of life and lifestyle cannot be established under a feudal or colonial regime nor can the way of life of developed socialism be established within a country that has only recently been liberated from oppression and exploitation and has only just begun to build socialism. However, must this conformity be absolute? Were this the case, we would find it very difficult to explain why today, in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, it is our policy to establish the way of life and lifestyle of socialism, not the way of life and lifestyle of the period of transition. There are some persons who maintain that the latter is correct. Were this so, it would then be necessary to establish specific standards for a transitional way of life and, at the same time, formulate a model of the man of the transitional period (not the new, socialist man) who would correspond to that way of life.

However, doing such would totally defy the dialectic because, even in the initial stage of the period of transition, we can still call for the establishment of the socialist way of life, the establishment of the new culture and the molding of the new, socialist man. We can question to which degree these things can be achieved but this is no reason to change our objectives. Thus, the conformity between the way of life and social system

need not be absolute. There can be variations in the degree to which the different aspects of the way of life correspond to the social system. One thing can lead or lag behind another by a little. How this occurs under specific circumstances is what we must carefully study and analyze.

Above everything else, it must be realized that the factors that make up a way of life (and a lifestyle as well) are quite complicated and do not emerge or come into existence uniformly. The central factors of a way of life, such as the thinking, concepts and ideals concerning life itself, are determined by the economic and social situation. However, progressive thinking and concepts can, on the basis of progressive economic factors, emerge at a very early date, even within old systems. In his famous argument concerning the two cultures that exist within every national culture, Lenin showed that every national culture in preceding periods of history embodied both democratic and socialist factors. Therefore, the establishment of socialist thinking need not wait until the country has completed its socialist construction. In the world, it was K. Marx and F. Engels who adopted socialist thinking before socialism existed in real terms. In our country, President Ho and many of our original revolutionaries adopted socialist thinking, the socialist *raison d'être* and the socialist way of life many years before the August Revolution. However, in order for an entire society to adopt this thinking, a new environment must exist, the socialist system must be established.

We cannot allow the socio-economic remnants of capitalism to freely have an impact upon our culture and way of life. But one thing we cannot yet do is establish a fully defined objective, instead, we must advance by degrees in a way suited to our country's circumstances. The weak development of our socio-economic system cannot be cited as a reason for advocating the establishment of a non-socialist or transitional way of life. While overcoming the limitations imposed by the situation, we must take determined steps to establish the socialist way of life, the way of life of the new, socialist man and gradually rid ourselves of the non-socialist ways of life that still exist in society. Only in this way can we successfully build socialism. If we do not make this effort, we will stand still and might even see socialism disappear in many areas of life. We must bear in mind the teaching of President Ho: "To build socialism, we must first of all have socialists." We can and must mold the new, socialist man and establish the socialist way of life even during the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism...

Vu Mao:

The campaign to establish the socialist way of life among youths is very rich and diverse in content. However, efforts must be focused in the immediate future on the following several matters of basic importance:

First, establishing the new style of work among youths.

Working lies at the heart of the socialist way of life. The socialist way of life is the opposite of the bourgeois way of life, which is a parasitic way of life based on robbing another person of the fruits of his labor. At its roots, culture is labor. The first cultural activity of man was to have an

impact upon nature through his labor. Only humans work and to be human means to have a culture.

Under the socialist system, to work is the foremost quality of the collective master. And, the new style of work is reflected first in the collective spirit in labor. Only by working within a collective can man find joy and pleasure in labor. Only by working within a collective do beautiful interpersonal relations arise and develop. Only by working within a collective are the social activism and the creativity of man thoroughly displayed. The collective spirit in labor is the complete opposite of the absence of cooperation in labor and all jealousy of another's position, all thinking of always trying to attain a higher position.

The new style of work is also manifested in being conscious of the need to work, in working in a disciplined, technical and highly productive manner, in respecting and protecting public property and bravely struggling against such improper practices on the job as doing sloppy, careless work, stealing public property and not respecting technical rules and standards or maintaining the pace of work recorded in the state plan.

In summary, establishing the new style of work among youths involves cultivating the sense of collective ownership in labor and the spirit of working in a conscious and creative manner, in a true and scientific manner.

Secondly, establishing a civilized style of life at public places.

The public lifestyle of a locality, a nation or a country is a reflection of its level of culture and civilization.

Generally speaking, establishing the public lifestyle involves stabilizing social order, maintaining traffic safety, maintaining cultured surroundings, keeping the environment clean and establishing a civilized and courteous style in interpersonal relations.

Efforts to establish the public lifestyle must be simultaneously carried out in both areas of public behavior: the behavior of visitors and the behavior of their hosts. These two aspects have a reciprocal effect upon and directly influence each other. If the organizing agency and its personnel do not act on the basis of meeting the cultural needs of the public, do not provide courteous service to the public and do not show respect for the public, it will be very difficult for them to ask that the public treat them with politeness and courtesy. Therefore, by upholding the management role of the state and vigorously tapping the spirit of collective ownership of the working people, especially of youths, we will certainly succeed in bringing about new changes in our public lifestyle.

Thirdly, establishing families of the new culture.

In the work of establishing families of the new culture, efforts must be focused on the following several matters:

To begin with, a constant educational effort must be directed toward youths who have not yet started families in order to teach them the correct concept of love and marriage; make them fully aware of their responsibilities and obligations to their families and society; insure that they consciously choose at which age to marry (at least 24-25 years of age for men, 22-24 years of age for women); know what it takes to be a husband, a wife, a father or mother and know how to raise children by scientific methods; and possess knowledge of reproduction and the population issue. We must rid ourselves of the concept that teaching these things is like "teaching a bird how to fly" because this concept is a feudal one, is one that ignores objective reality. Due to the superior nature of the socialist system, our children are maturing physically at an earlier age than their fathers and elder brothers and also maturing psychologically more rapidly as a result of their early contact with films and the mass media.

As regards youths who have started families, we must help them organize their family life in a scientific manner, a family life in which the husband and wife live in harmony, respect and help one another in household chores as well as the work of the collective, maintain good relations with their neighbors and set the example by registering to practice planned parenthood (couples who are youths should have only one child).

With regard to persons who are preparing to start families, we must help them gain an understanding of the marriage and the family law, set a good example by having a wedding ceremony of the new lifestyle and waging a determined struggle against superstition and the restoration of bad customs. On the other hand, the Youth Union has the responsibility of working closely with the family, the agency or the locality to insure that the marriage of youths is a joyous, solemn, wholesome and economical occasion.

Fourthly, establishing a personal lifestyle.

Establishing a personal lifestyle means bringing about the comprehensive development of the character of each person and making life diverse, filled with creativity and more beautiful and fresh. The development of a good personal lifestyle directly contributes to the development and improvement of the way of life of all of society. It is the complete opposite to the lies of bourgeois ideologues that the socialist way of life renders all personal traits the same and nullifies the role of the individual.

On the basis of the goals of our party in the molding of the new, socialist man, the establishment of the personal lifestyle among youths consists of establishing a lifestyle that is scientific from the standpoint of their diet, clothing, shelter, work, personal activities, recreation, entertainment and relaxation.

Appearance is also a very important matter. It is not surprising that the attitude circulating among youths is "appearance first, complexion second, personality third." The standard of beauty of youths is becoming increasingly modern. Today, beauty is synonymous with good health. The beauty of each individual enhances the beauty of all society. Through the personal appearance of the individual, we see, to some extent, the beauty and aesthetic

tastes of society. From the way of eating, the dress, the ethnic style, the personal adornment and the appearance of each person we can learn something about the character and ethics of that person. Beauty is very rich, the appearance of each person differs and the preferences, aspirations, psychology and tastes of the youths within each area, within each region differ, consequently, we should not and cannot demand that each and every person fit the same mold or adopt the same style. However, we are fully capable of establishing general standards and principles of appearance. They are: harmonious, balanced and refined; healthy and wholesome; not obstructing one's work or activity, not being repulsive or offensive to others and not wasting time or money.

A highly cultured person is a person who uses his time and money as sensibly and economically as possible. We must teach youths the attitude that material needs are the means by which man lives his life, not the objective of life. We must denounce the attitude of pursuing the way of life of a "consumer society," of desiring a way of life that is "complete with every possible convenience" and looking for every way to satisfy this desire, every way except through one's own labor.

Music, the movies, theatrical art, collective singing and dancing, tourism, physical culture, sports and so forth are indispensable needs in the personal life of every youth. As both the object and subject of culture, youths not only enjoy culture, but also participate in the creation of culture and art.

Fifthly, eliminating reactionary, decadent culture, ridding ourselves of corrupt customs and superstitions and eradicating social ills.

In our society today, smoking, drinking, gambling, fortune telling, superstitious offerings and so forth are on the rise among youths. Deserving of attention is the fact that this situation exists not only among youths who have a low level of education, but also among intellectual youths, among youths who have a high level of education. Therefore, our efforts to establish the socialist way of life among youths must go hand in hand with the process of reforming old customs and habits and making a determined attempt to eradicate corrupt customs and superstitions.

Following the total liberation of the South, we inherited the grim legacy left behind by the U.S. imperialists, a legacy of social ills and remnants of the reactionary, decadent culture of neo-colonialism. This is not to mention the fact that we have had to deal every hour of every day with dangerous assaults by enemies of various types to corrupt the morals of youths, arouse base desires, lead them into an immoral way of life and gradually cause youths to drift away from their revolutionary ideals. Therefore, besides intensifying our efforts to rid ourselves of the remnants of reactionary and decadent culture, we must always be highly vigilant so that we can effectively protect youths in the face of the enemy's clever schemes...

Tuong Lai:

A correct understanding of the dialectical relationship between standard of living and way of life not only serves to give direction and purpose to a

social model, but is also of major significance in guiding practical, day to day matters. The 5th Congress of our party pointed out: "In the present stage, both objective and subjective conditions permit us to begin to build a beautiful society, a society that is beautiful in terms of its way of life and interpersonal relations, a society within which the working people feel that they are living a happy life even though their material standard of living is not high." This gives us proper direction and purpose concerning the social model that we must build and is also a matter of theory that offers practical guidance from the standpoint of socio-economic strategy.

We cannot separate our way of life from our standard of living because a way of life cannot be separated from the real material conditions that make that way of life possible. However, we should not rigidly assume that one's way of life is necessarily and entirely dependent upon one's standard of living and pessimistically conclude that a beautiful way of life cannot be established at a time when the material standard of living is not high.

In the present stage, a stage in which the "material standard of living is not high," we can and must establish a beautiful way of life. I envision this way of life to be the most beautiful way of life that can be achieved with this standard of living. That is, given a specific standard of living, we must look for, must establish a way of life that is optimum for that standard of living. This also means that, given a specific standard of living, there are many styles and ways of life among which the optimum way of life can be found. Of course, optimum means optimum under specific conditions. To think that there can be more than these conditions permit is to harbor illusions. It must also be realized that in addition to that which is optimum, there are varying degrees of an optimum way of life and that the same standard of living can support a way of life that is not beautiful. Even at very high material standards of living, there are still ugly ways of life. Examples of this antithesis can be found in the capitalist societies of the West.

My reason for pointing out this antithesis is not that I am motivated by a philosophy of being "content with one's poverty," by a sense of "self-pity," but, to discredit a stagnant bourgeois civilization and denounce a decadent way of life from this standpoint, from this perspective.

Without creating the material backbone of socialism, it is impossible to talk about the formation of the socialist way of life. However, while material conditions are a primary factor, they are not the sole determining factor. Economic relations lie at the heart of a way of life; however, surrounding these economic relations--this axis of real life--are other relations. The new quality of life that we are creating is not based merely on indices that measure material conveniences and our standard of living is not measured simply in terms of per capita income, even though this is an important indicator. Good interpersonal relations are not based merely on the quantity and quality of wealth created by society. They depend first upon the position that man occupies within the production and distribution of products.

We all know that "with the establishment of the new system, our people threw off the chains that shackled them for a thousand years. The laborer, no longer somebody's hired hand, became the genuine master of the country and

society, bringing dignity back to the nation and himself. This is the greatest achievement of the revolution."(1) It is also the number one prerequisite to the formation of beautiful relations between persons, the formation of a society that is made beautiful by its way of life. The issue we face is that we must strengthen and develop upon this achievement so that the new system becomes firmly established upon a new economic base, one whose level of development is that of large-scale, mechanized industry. The new way of life that we are building is designed to develop into a modern industrial way of life. This is a long-range goal. However, it is also an objective demand imposed upon us by the development of history. A "society made beautiful by its way of life" must be the combined result of the three revolutions, at the core of which is the achievement of socialist industrialization.

While stressing that which is the key in determining the evolution and establishment of a way of life, stressing how we earn a living, stressing the scientific-technological revolution and socialist industrialization, we have not forgotten to talk about man nor have we forgotten to talk about the ideological and cultural revolution. We know that "economic strength cannot be separated from cultural strength, the strength of man. The strength of culture, the strength of man must be embodied within economic strength."(2) This has an even more direct bearing upon our way of life. Moreover, we know that "only when something has become deeply ingrained in cultural life, in customs and habits, can it be considered as having been achieved."(3)

Phan Lang:

Ten years ago, a new term emerged within the modern political lexicology of the world: cultural imperialism.

The cultural war being waged by imperialism is aimed at all strata of people, with special efforts focused on the young generation. In this war, the area in which imperialism seeks to breach our defenses is lifestyle.

An analysis of the products spewed forth by the enemy as well as the "modern way of life" of those youths who have been victimized by the "cultural war" within our society as well as in other countries shows that the main propaganda themes of the enemy are:

--Extolling the benefits of the most radical personal philosophy of life that there is--"to live is to grab everything that you can for yourself"--and encouraging a selfish and ruthless way of life, the life of barricading oneself behind the four walls of the "fortress of the family" and ignoring the burning political issues faced in the struggle for national independence and social progress.

--Pursuing a strategy that can be called neo-obscurantism, which seeks to introduce in social life and develop as social tastes a listless and vulgar culture that has withered virtually to the point where it serves but one function, to entertain, seeks even to cultivate among the highly educated the habit of enjoying a kind of culture whose only prohibition is to "not cause a headache," a culture that gives license to all kinds of pornography and uses

this culture as a substitute for matters of substance that seriously support the intellectual activity and emotional needs of man in the face of the important issues raised by life.

--Preaching the worst kind of pragmatism, reheating the philosophy of Freud, overemphasizing the "Id," man's instinctive force, and endorsing a "permissive," an "anything goes" lifestyle, a lifestyle in which immorality is taken to mean "being prepared for anything" and the wholesome activities of persons who possess noble aspirations, dreams and ideals are ridiculed.

Involved here is more than just philosophical corruption. A close look reveals that an extremely dangerous political scheme of the enemy lies behind these philosophies of "modern life." Forcing the young generation to draw itself into the shell of living for oneself and, by so doing, isolating them from the social struggles being waged at those places where imperialism and reactionaries still rule and establish individualism as nothing but good and revolutionary order as nothing but bad--these are the political objectives that the enemy seeks to achieve. They deceive and arouse our young generation, advocate a broad spectrum of disorder and sabotage, provoke waves of emigration, cling desperately to their remaining positions and attempt to regain, through counter-attacks, their "paradise lost."

We cannot say that the enemy has failed to achieve anything. With one look at our society and even the societies of some other socialist countries we immediately see and are angered by the fact that scum has surfaced beside our wholesome way of life, especially among the youths of the cities. More than a few of our youths are becoming victims of the enemy's cultural war. That the enemy has been able to achieve this is due to our many weaknesses.

Most importantly, there is a shortcoming in our perception of this issue. Some of us go no further than to denounce their "decadent culture" and fail to truly comprehend the strategic significance of the cultural war being waged by the enemy over the issue of lifestyle. As a consequence, we have not been very effective in the struggle against the enemy on this front and have, at some times and places, even "abandoned our battle station."

Lenin taught the communist militants of an earlier generation to remember that the young generation comes to socialism by a path that is not entirely the same as that travelled by their fathers and elder brothers. While we should be searching for the path about which Lenin spoke, many of us have satisfied ourselves with teaching outdated lessons, with the confidence that any lesson which successfully educated the older generation is good enough for the young generation. At a time when the enemy is doing everything they possibly can and continually improving their tactics to make the "modern way of life" increasingly attractive to youths, the methods that we employ to teach our way of life to the young generation are almost exactly the same as they were several decades ago: political classes, friendly chats, debates and question and answer sessions. It is not surprising, therefore, that youths are showing a tendency to be very reluctant to partake in "dry" political studies, which include the sessions devoted to educating them in our way of life, in the communist philosophy of life.

If the shortcomings and weaknesses described above are corrected, the struggle to establish the socialist way of life will surely yield much better results.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Van kien Dai hoi V,"[The Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 94.
2. Le Duan: "Nam vung quy luat, doi moi quan ly kinh te,"[Understanding the Laws That Apply and Improving Economic Management], TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 9-1984, p 30.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 45, p 443.

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SOME THOUGHTS CONCERNING MASS FESTIVALS TODAY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 85 pp 63-67

[Article by Le Nhu Hoa]

[Text] Since ancient times, it has been a custom in the social life of our nation to hold festivals to celebrate the anniversaries of the birth or death of personalities and the date of feats of arms in our history of building and defending the country. With the passage of time, these festivals became viewed as a need, as necessary for the exchange of ideas and feelings between the individual and the community. Our people's traditional festivals not only involve worshipping and remembering our forefathers, but are also marked by story telling in verse, games, singing and the recreation of personalities who recorded feats of arms in history or extraordinary feats recorded in labor or combat. The festival also provides an opportunity to tour and visit places of scenic beauty in the country.

As a form of cultural activity, the traditional festival has a specific place in history. It was a traditional factor of the agricultural civilization, the village civilization, was a cultural activity of the village in ancient times and was a colorful and "civilized" way to use idle time. The festival helped to forge and develop the village community relations of the Vietnamese people. Festivals reflect the thinking, dreams, customs, habits and social attitudes as well as the very essence of the culture of a people. Festivals have been maintained, have been carried on and developed down through the 4,000 years of our history. Today, along with the new festivals that have become established, many traditional festivals continue to be indispensable cultural needs in our people's spiritual life. For example, there is the festival of Giong, a large historical festival that commemorates Thanh Giong's victory over the An. Each year, visitors from throughout the country travel to the four villages of what was Phu Dong Canton to attend the festival. The festival, which lasts for many days, consists of many different ceremonies and forms of entertainment: singing, folk singing in verse, games, fairs, dancing, rites, music...

Many festivals have become deeply ingrained in the subconscious of the people:

"Anyone who, on the 9th day of April,
does not attend the Giong festival risks failure in life."

Or:

"Be you from the lowlands or the mountains
observe Ancestors Day, 10 March."

These are beautiful aspects of the tradition, of the sentiments of our people.

However, the traditional festival--a product of small-scale agriculture--is in some ways no longer appropriate. The traditional festival is the embodiment of two inseparable elements: rites and ceremonies and a summer fair. Many factors associated with the rites and ceremonies of the traditional festival are closely tied to religion. Sacrificial offerings and formal processions are a common part of festivals. The ceremonies are long and costly and have a very large influence upon the production and everyday lives of the people. Backward customs and superstitions, such as fortune telling, the consulting of a physiognomist, requiem masses, the burning of votive paper and so forth, also flourish where there is a festival. In recent years, as a result of many different causes, backward customs and habits of feudalism combined with influences of the U.S. neo-colonialism that once existed in the South have made their way into the life of society, most notably among youths. Some festivals that were entirely superstitious in character and had been forgotten have now been re-established. Due to lax management and lax organizational efforts on our part, festivals frequently no longer teach about or attempt to develop upon the positive factors associated with their origins. Many festivals last for months, thereby impeding traffic, drawing attention away from production and creating many difficulties for the localities in which they are held. Often, the motivation to attend a festival is nothing more than blind faith in a god, a need to pray for personal good fortune or just a desire to have a good time. Festivals have become a place, an opportunity to earn some money for the merchants of "holy items," gamblers, profiteers who gouge festival participants, etc. Their presence gives rise to many other negative phenomena. This is not to mention how festivals are used by the enemy, not to mention enemy sabotage.

It has come time for us to give attention to reorganizing and managing mass festivals. This is an aspect of the struggle between the "two paths" within the field of ideology and culture that we cannot ignore. We must take effective steps to insure that mass festivals are educational in nature and achieve the ultimate objectives of meeting a cultural need of the people and helping to build the new life, to mold the new, socialist man. Therefore, when trying to decide whether a mass festival is worth maintaining, how a festival should be reformed or improved or how a new festival should best be organized, it is important that we take into consideration the festival's educational and aesthetic functions as a means of teaching ideas and feelings. Of course, we should not simplify the issue to the point where we erase the rich and unique aspects of each festival that have left such a deep impression, rather, we must generate an atmosphere of joy and gaiety, must create a festival of fun, enjoyment and sacred memories as well.

There are many methods that can be employed to carry on, develop upon and further enhance mass festivals. One of the most effective is to render mass festivals in the form of stage productions. The objectives that this method

seeks to achieve are: using festivals to awaken in us sacred feelings toward our tradition of building and defending the country, pride in our nation, love of our homeland, our country, love of nature and giving us a sense of aesthetic pleasure; helping us to see in festivals the beauty and unique character of Vietnamese culture; and meeting the needs of the people to share feelings and enjoy culture. This method helps the organizers of festivals display their creativity with a view toward clearly defining the objectives, the significance and the attraction of mass festivals.

Presenting mass festivals as stage productions is a creative process, is a process of organizing factual material drawn from life on the basis of the special features of a particular festival and the factors reflected in it. In the face of our nation's rich variety of traditional festivals and the rising cultural needs of the masses today, we must promptly find and create ways to carry on and develop upon traditional festivals in a manner consistent with the new conditions that exist and thereby help to establish the socialist way of life.

1. Traditional festivals: if we strip away the veil of religion and superstition that surrounds traditional festivals, we see that the main themes of festivals are: fighting the enemy and producing. Skilled craftsmen whose contributions established a certain trade are revered by the people as ancestors, as village gods, as local princesses. National heroes whose efforts saved the country are revered as gods, as saints. In their festivals, the ethnic minorities worship ancestors from the animal world. The intoxicating factor of deity and superstition that is a part of traditional festivals often overshadows that which should be emphasized, such as the hatred of foreign aggressors and the bravery in battle of national heroes, the creativity of those persons whose efforts resulted in the establishment of certain crafts, love of nature, love of country... If we were to accentuate the main themes of festivals, the themes of fighting the enemy and producing and the theme of love of country, thereby evoking beautiful feelings about our nation's tradition of building and defending the country, traditional festivals would become festivals whose full meaning would lie in cultivating certain thoughts and feelings. Of course, we cannot impose upon these festivals forms that are new and alien, that are unsuitable and result in traditional festivals becoming boring affairs and losing their rich flavor. We must recognize that it is the permanence of our fine traditions that gives color to our nation's unique culture. The traditional origins of our festivals is seen not only in the games, such as boat races, hurling, wrestling matches, cock fights, bird releases and chess matches, not only in the four panel traditional dresses worn by girls, the long silk shirts worn by young men with turbans and so forth, seen not only in the hearty national dishes that are prepared, such as vanilla flavored coffeecakes, king's crabcakes, hard cakes, wrapped cakes, rice pancakes and so forth, but essentially in the enduring community spirit that pervades a country whose history dates back some 4,000 years. Knowing this, we can clearly define the structure, features and elements of a traditional festival. An example of such is the offering of incense during the Hung Temple Festival. The clouds of smoke no longer serve to conceal something occult and mystical as they did in ancient times, rather, they now create a solemn atmosphere, one that evokes

thoughts of our forefathers who built the country, thereby retaining this ceremony's very uniquely Vietnamese character.

Besides casting aside that which has now become outmoded and retaining that which constitutes the very essence of our traditional festivals, it is also necessary to breathe into our festivals the breath of life today so that they not only serve to recall a particular stage in our history, but also pulse with the rhythm of our new life.

Our country is now engaged in two strategic tasks: successfully building socialism and firmly defending the Vietnamese socialist fatherland. Therefore, the main themes of traditional festivals, the themes of fighting the enemy and producing, have become closely associated and consistent with the requirements of cultivating the thoughts and feelings of today's people. This is one of several conditions that researchers and the organizers of traditional festivals have in their favor. They can present personalities in history as examples of the outlook, the perspective of the new man. They can also incorporate the requirements of life today into the themes of historical festivals. On the festival day of the founder of a particular handicraft trade, they can place emphasis upon the good and beautiful aspects of that trade which should be retained, should be carried on and the person who began the trade. On festival days filled with the lyrical notes of folk singing, such as Lim Festival, besides the young girls in their four panel traditional dresses and the young men in their turbans singing ancient love duets, we can incorporate modern singing groups performing in contemporary dress to satisfy the cultural needs of the young and enrich the theme of the festival. Of course, the new songs that they sing must be skillfully arranged, must be arranged so that they blend with the overall program but still satisfy educational and wholesome aesthetic objectives and the needs of the masses to share culture, share feelings and enjoy themselves. Modern equipment, such as electric lighting, electronic sound systems and so forth can be used but how they should best be used is a subject that must be studied.

2. Modern festivals: modern festivals are not festivals that have been incorporated from elsewhere, but festivals that have emerged within the life of the people, emerged from a need to be creative, from cultural life. In recent years, many new festivals have come into existence: "The Congress of Workers and Laborers of the Capital To Celebrate the 4th Congress of the Party," "The Torch Light Procession To Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Birth of the Party," "The Festival of Youths Leaving To Defend the Fatherland," "The Down to the Fields Festival," "the Grain Delivery Festival," "The Spring Flower Festival," etc. The purpose of modern festivals is to provide us with an opportunity to both express and adopt the fine qualities of the new man and express our feelings concerning one event or another within our village, our city, our country and even concerning international issues. When a bumper crop is harvested, when a cooperative completes a major welfare project...our desire is to hold a festival commemorating the achievement in order to express our joy and confidence, our evaluation and assessment of one another, our dreams for the future... When youths join the army, our desire is to hold a festival to express our pride in the locality's tradition of bravery, in the feelings that those who are departing have for those who are remaining behind... In today's new life there are countless new persons, new

emotional needs and new talents that must find expression within the community, not all of which can find expression in traditional festivals.

All traditional festivals, regardless of their theme, have one basic feature in common, namely, that they are accepted as habit by the masses. New festivals must stand the challenge of time. The greatest difficulty facing the organizers of new festivals is that of giving specific form to new festivals on the basis of incorporating traditional festivals in a manner consistent with our circumstances. The very best in the culture of our 4,000 year civilization must be given expression in the behavior, the interpersonal relations and the cultural life of the modern Vietnamese. Many of our new festivals have long been simplistic and uninteresting events due to a lack of research and poor organization or because we have adopted a modern mass festival of a foreign country without modifying it in any way, thereby depriving ourselves of the variety and uniqueness of a Vietnamese traditional festival.

In contrast to the process of presenting traditional festivals as stage productions, the organizing of a new festival should begin with the traditional. Once we have all the material that we need from present day life, we can organize a new festival on the basis of a tradition that has been an attraction to millions of persons from one generation to the next. This is a continuous process of incorporation, of carrying on a tradition but in a way that is marked by continual innovation. In addition to that which we draw from our new life, a modern festival can also be built around traditional material drawn from history. For example, a festival for youths who are about to join the army can include actors playing the role of national heroes, of local persons who distinguished themselves in fighting the enemy and defending the country... Through such a festival, the persons who are departing as well as those who are remaining behind have a chance to review the locality's brave tradition, take pride in the nation and do so with a purity of soul and depth of feelings. New festivals in the "land of the love duet," besides being given new forms and new expression, must include the lyrical sounds of folk songs and love duets, the bright colors of the four panel traditional dresses and so forth because these "special cultural products" are only found there. At the same time, we must boldly incorporate various forms of modern festivals of the world, such as staged demonstrations, staged meetings and so forth so that our modern festivals become increasingly rich and satisfy the rising cultural needs of the people.

A staged mass festival differs from a performance within a theater. In the theater, the audience generally plays a passive role: each person appreciates and relates to the substance of the performance in his or her own way. A mass festival is not a second theater. In the festival, the participant becomes performer. There, the feelings of each individual are the same as the feelings being felt by the entire community, feelings that can be called the atmosphere of the festival. How do we create a festival atmosphere, create feelings that are shared by all on a festival day? It is this that lies at the heart of the success or failure of a festival. It is also the first requirement of the art of creating and producing a festival. A successful mass festival is a festival that organizes the sharing of feelings by the masses, organizes the actions of the masses in such a way that everyone

participating in the festival is able to display the full measure of their dynamism and creativity, thereby helping to expand the boundaries of art. To achieve this result, those persons who create and produce a mass festival must have a rich body of material drawn from life with which to work. Rich material is the prerequisite to a good theme. How good a festival is depends upon the selection of material, upon the selection of the festival's purpose and theme and upon the making of an image by the festival creator and producer.

The process of creating the image of a mass festival must be based on the principle of stimulating certain actions by the festival participants. Those who participate in a mass festival are the masters of that festival. The art of creating and the art of producing a mass festival are expressed not only in the organizing of the action on the stage, but also in the organizing of the actions of the participants in the festival, knowing how to make use of factors that excite action and knowing in advance what the actions and responses of the masses will be. The experience of a number of mass festivals shows that improvisation presented on stage excites action by the masses. Everyone eagerly participates in a piece of improvisation, a group of actions or improvises and plays the role of a character in the festival.

A mass festival is a body of mass cultural activities. In a mass festival, synthesis is a method that can be employed to arrange any staged mass scene. The use of a high degree of synthesis will create an impressive work, the expression of which is the harmonious blending of art and material. It is here that we see the various staged forms coalesce into a single entity under a specific main theme. This synthesis is not simply a matter of assembling and joining factors together, but is a synthesis that gives rise to entirely new qualities. If attention is given to the emotions that are felt by the participant but not to the attraction of reason, if attention is only given to amusement and entertainment and we fail to correctly evaluate man's appreciation of beauty, the ideological character of the festival will be weakened. On the other hand, if we do not recognize that the special artistic character of a festival is to amuse, to entertain and to provide for a sharing of feelings, festivals will become nothing more than a matter of plugging values into a formula, will become uninteresting.

Staging mass festivals with the intent of stripping away their superstitious, backward and negative factors and incorporating factors of our new life in mass festivals will help to heighten the ideological and artistic character of mass festivals and satisfy the rising cultural needs of the people, help to establish the new culture and mold the new man.

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VIETNAMESE LITERATURE AND THE THEMES OF REVOLUTIONARY WAR AND THE ARMED FORCES

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[Article by Dinh Xuan Dung]

[Text] Vietnamese revolutionary literature has come into existence and developed in a special period in our nation's history: the period of the collapse of the old society and the birth and victory of the new society. It is an extremely exciting and rich period. The victory of the new, of the revolutionary will come about only through a bitter, life or death struggle to gradually beat down and defeat stubborn resistance by the old, by the reactionary. This struggle has been taking place in every area of life for nearly 40 years. At its center have been the 30 year war of national liberation against France and the United State (1945-1975) and the present war to defend the fatherland against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists.

As the voice of the new, of the revolutionary, our literature has constantly grown, has constantly stood at this center of the struggle, where it has reflected the essential and most dynamic aspects of these realities and made positive contributions to the victory of the new society, to the birth and growth of the new man. Therefore, one of the greatest achievements recorded by Vietnamese literature has been its faithful, true and vivid presentation of the realities of the revolutionary way that our people have been fighting for nearly 40 years.

To begin with, this culture has constantly been the companion of the people in their fight, constantly been present at those places where the fighting has been the most intense. This is not something that has been easy to achieve. Over the past 40 years, the situation has developed and changed with great speed and fury. Our literature has made every effort to grow and constantly keep pace with the huge strides made by our people in their struggle and quickly recognize sincere, pure and ardent feelings, recognize the beauty, the new and heroic that are emerging and developing within our fight while making its own contribution to the struggle by cultivating in man the strength of spirit, of confidence, of ideals. In their struggle, the people need literature, the people have a deep desire for and treasure literature because it is their voice, their echo, it gives expression to their feelings and is something spiritual that they enjoy together and because it is a literature created by persons in the struggle to give them a weapon with which to fight.

The underlying cause of the outstanding achievements recorded by our literature over the past 40 years can be thought of as the following: during these difficult but great years and months of war, the heart of the artist has beat in rhythm with the heart of the people fighting. This lesson seems obvious but it has truly become one that is both of permanent value to and is always being learned afresh by a literature that constantly desires to play its proper role: the engineer of the soul in the struggle for great ideals.

Faced with the realities of a very intense, complicated and profound war, a war very unique in some ways, our literature faced a difficult task at the very outset: embracing this war, the very urgent course of this war, a course ever changing, embracing the full scope of the war's constantly expanding breadth in every aspect of life while grasping, while delving into the essence, the depth of reality and its critical, burning issues. During the years and months of the wars of resistance against France and the United States, our literature grew and recorded outstanding achievements in the performance of this task. Numerous representative works that came to life during those two periods or were conceived during those days of intense fighting and completed in subsequent years, such as "Xung kich," "Vung mo," "Con trau," "Dat nuoc dung len," "Truyen Tay bac," "Mot chuyen chep o benh vien," "Song mai voi thu do," "Truoc gio no sung," "Cao diem cuoi cung"... (which dealt with the war of resistance against France) and "Dau chan nguoi linh," "Vung troi," "Chien si," "Thon ven duong," "Kan Lich," "Cua song," "Phu sa," "Nguoi cam sung," "Mam song," "Ho song va chien dau," "Nhung ngay noi gian," "Duong lon," "Ha noi ta danh My gioi," "Man va toi," "Gia dinh ma Bay," "Ve lang," "Hon dat," "Buc thu Ca mau," "Dat Quang," "Tren que huong nhung anh hung Dien ngoc," "O xa Trung nghia," "Nguoi me cam sung," "Rung U minh," "Chiec tuoc nga," "Bong cam thach," "Bat khuat"... (which dealt with the resistance against the United States) represented a major step forward by our literature. They grasped the reality of war, embraced and recreated it in broad murals, delved deeply into the essential relationships embodied in this reality, drew detailed pictures of very different characters, tried to thoroughly develop the fates, the paths of life and the attitudes of the different types of persons involved in the war and, on this basis, revealed factors that are special and unique to the realities of war in Vietnam.

First among the special and unique factors that have been revealed and confirmed by our literature are our highly developed spirit of revolutionary heroism and the extremely rich variety of expression given to this spirit by our people, our army in the fight. Heroism has become an ethical-aesthetic factor, the central factor of our literature in revealing and describing the Vietnamese over the past 40 years. Beyond showing heroism as universal among the masses, our literature has constantly made the extra effort to reveal the process by which these heroic qualities are formed and each way that this heroism is expressed in life in order to delve deeply into the unique national character and beauty of the Vietnamese. Never before in our literature have so many beautiful models emerged that radiate the ideals of the new man, of the hero in war. Many of these models stepped from the author's page into the life of combat of our people and troops and became examples, became the close friends, the ideals of those who have borne arms in the fight to liberate and defend the fatherland. The purposes of revealing and describing the revolutionary heroism of man are not only to support the immediate war effort

and inspire those fighting the war, but also to lay a foundation, an ideological-aesthetic foundation of our socialist realism in literature. This is an ideological-artistic experience that our literature on the subject of war has gained over the years. This experience must be developed upon and must continue to play the role of guiding and directing literature in the years ahead.

One bright and distinctive image found in many of our literary works over the past 40 years is the image of the entire nation marching off to battle, the entire nation going to war. This image is designed to show the great journey that our nation has made during the past half century and more to independence, freedom and socialism and, at the same time, to reveal a unique characteristic of the reality of war in our country: the great people's war. Through the revelations made by the artist, the important achievements in life have become a distinct element of art itself. Many authors have gone to great lengths to describe very beautiful and vivid pictures relating to the people's war, the central characters in which have been the armed forces, have been all three elements of the armed forces. The appearance and the extremely diverse forms of expression of the people's war, such as the rear area and the frontlines, combat and the buildup of forces, the coordination among the three elements of the military, the political struggle and armed struggle..., are revealed and evolve into unique images, arising among which as one of the most significant achievements of our literature is the image of the heroic masses and the hero emerging from the masses. We have produced more than a few works that have been a success from the standpoint of correctly handling this relationship, such as "Dat nuoc dung len," "Song nhu Anh," "Nguoi me cam sung," "Dau chan nguoi linh," "Hon dat"... The dialectic relationship between the masses and the hero, between the collective and the heroic individual is one of the profound improvements represented by socialist realism. Inspiration and a deep understanding of the people's war have helped our literature not only describe the beauty of every individual, but also present eloquent pictures of the combined strength of the masses. It is this inspiration that has created another unique image found in many of our works. It is the image of the people as the main hero in war. Our literature might not yet have produced a truly large number of models of major stature befitting our times, but pictures describing the greatness of the people, describing collectives of ordinary but yet great persons are one of the distinguishing achievements of many works on the people's war in our country.

Developed in the flames of 30 years of war and having asserted itself as our people's effective weapon of the spirit in the most bitter months and years of the fight for independence, freedom and socialism, our literature is highly militant by nature. It is always sensitive to and in sympathy with the deepest spiritual aspirations of the nation. Therefore, the militancy of this literature is also inextricably intertwined with a noble humanitarianism because, in its character and long held tradition, ours is a nation of justice and love, a nation that stresses justice and love. Running throughout this literature (even when it must deal with the most bitter aspects of war) is a profound, intense love. It is love of the fatherland, love of ideals, love of one's fellow man, love of nature, love of all that is beautiful in life and man. And the persons for whom this literature always holds the warmest and deepest love are our soldiers who bear arms--the persons who have fought and

are fighting with selfless dedication for the noble ideals of the nation. If the depth of our literature is fully revealed in its discovery of the philosophical and psychological factors that lie deep within the reality of war, it is most profoundly evident in our literature's ability to reveal the beauty of the soul and feelings of those who are doing the actual fighting. The inspiration and the profound humanist quality of our literature are closely associated with this capability, closely associated with a deep feeling of love for those persons who "dare face the fierce tempests" of war to achieve freedom and liberation.

During the past 40 years, momentous changes have occurred in the life of our nation. The entire nation has been "living the greatest days in its history. The life we are living is truly a life condensed in time and space. Intense, powerful development and the fact that the most burning issues of our nation and times have been condensed in a short span of history are the two salient characteristics of the reality of the past 40 years. But, despite tremendous efforts, our literature has still not completely grasped or embraced this reality. We have yet to produce works befitting our times. We have yet to develop characters of important stature that stand as symbols of who we are in these great times. Such weaknesses and shortcomings are difficult for a young literature such as ours to avoid.

Reality is exceedingly rich and abundant. Captivating literary prototypes are always readily available. Often it is only necessary to retell a story, to recreate a character in a way that is more vivid, more selective and to do so with a warmth of feeling, a sincerity of emotion in order to produce a work that stands on solid footing among readers. On the other hand, very many works are written under the harsh and very difficult conditions of war. As a result, the depth to which they present the issues of life, the intensity with which reality is described and the synthesis of generalization and art are unavoidably limited.

The traits and shortcomings described above are also closely associated with another cause, the failure of the writer to practice the dialectic in his thinking. In many works there is no close connection between war as viewed on its surface, viewed from the perspective of the total number of events and changes that take place, from the perspective of the specific course of the war and the depth, the underlying factors of this reality. The scope and the circumstances described in many works are restricted to a single battle, a single campaign, a single area or village. The two sides of war, war's harshness, savagery and destruction and war's heroism, tender feelings and romanticism of feats of arms are not brought to light as an organic entity against which the philosophy, ethics and psychology of man can be set in bold relief. The development that leads to victory and the sophisticated, diverse and complex development that man undergoes are presented in our literature only in broad strokes and are sometimes presented in a way that is both monotonous and trite.

The historic milestones of the 30 years of war, such as the Dien Bien Phu campaign, the Tet offensive in 1968 and the Ho Chi Minh campaign, have left deep imprints upon history. To literature, these historic milestones are the points where the special characteristics of the whole fight, of the persons

participating in it crystallize and condense, the points at which they are condensed. Therefore, they are by their very nature attractive subjects from the standpoint of artistic creativity. We still lack many works that recreate these milestones and give them perpetual life in the hearts and feelings of man as imposing feats of arms of the nation.

From this evaluation of the achievements and weaknesses of our literature that has been written over the years on the theme of war, we can see that two pressing problems are faced in the process of literary creativity in the years ahead: we must simultaneously achieve both breadth and depth in how we reflect and describe the war so that we can build a school of literature that is rich with superior works on the themes of the revolutionary war and the people's armed forces.

Breadth is the ability to embrace the different aspects and perspectives, historic milestones, all localities, areas and strata of the people, all kinds of people and the different fates they experience as a result of the war, things which we have so far been unable to fully embrace. Such a broad mural can only be painted by the whole of our literature over a period of many years. Closely tied to this immense task and aspiration is another job of no less importance, if not actually a very pressing job at this point in time: planning, both overall and in detail, the corps of writers of all generations and fully developing and encouraging the creative potentials of this corps and those persons who participated in the war so that we can find and nurture new talents.

Breadth is the ability to reveal through art the historic-epochal significance of the fight, the magnitude of the feats of arms and heroism of the people, the source of the strength that led to our victories and the philosophical, ethical and psychological matters raised through the realities of the war. Today, the depth of a work written about the war also lies in how it helps--by drawing lessons and experiences from the war--to resolve the burning issues of man today because a work written about the wars we have fought in the past 40 years must be a spiritual bridge linking the past to the present.

To achieve a new depth in how we reflect the war, literature must do much more to reveal the very complex and sophisticated reciprocal impact that exists between war and man and among persons in the face of the changes that occur in war because war is the sternest test of the qualities of man, of man's spiritual values. Having endured untold suffering, having made untold sacrifices, our people, inspired by the noble ideals for which they fought, have marched forward to a new life, have defended and enhanced the truly noble qualities and values of the nation. At the same time, all that was criminal, sinister, evil, vile and cowardly must also be presented as they existed in that savage war. It is this rich, complicated and very dialectical process that must become the theme, the substance of the works written on the war today because today's man is not satisfied with convenient, immutable and idealized descriptions but requires from art profound, intelligent and fully convincing answers to questions raised not only by persons who fought in the war, but also by persons who did not, such as: how can a person remain steadfast and affirm his values in the face of challenges? Why do some persons fall by the wayside, regress and become sinister or vile? Only in

this way can literature help everyone to forge the skills needed to successfully complete his or her task in the cause of defending the socialist fatherland. Now, more than ever before, the values that were crystallized in the flames of war, in the harsh challenges of the war, such as socialist patriotism, a profound knowledge of and a readiness to die for ideals, revolutionary heroism and the noble ethical qualities and the spiritual beauty of the Vietnamese must be vigorously asserted in the literature being written on the war now, a time when we stand before new challenges, before large and difficult tasks and the enemies of the revolution are frantically looking for every way to attack these values of ours.

Our heroic people's armed forces are performing weighty tasks: maintaining combat readiness and fighting to firmly defend each bit of soil of the fatherland, to protect the gains made in socialist construction while fulfilling their noble international obligation to the two close fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia. From the same trench, from the same battle position, from the same base on the fatherland's frontier, all three generations of persons who fought the French, the Americans and the Beijing expansionists are standing shoulder to shoulder, are enduring many hardships together, are fighting and maintaining combat readiness together. In literature on our nation's war of liberation and war to defend the fatherland, first priority must be given to reflecting what these generations have achieved and supporting their needs. Increasing by many-fold the great strengths, the precious values of the tradition of our 30 years of fighting that lie within them, cultivating within them an iron will, a readiness to sacrifice their life in defense of the fatherland when necessary, cultivating within them fine ethical qualities and sentiments...these are the greatest responsibilities of our literature when writing about the war. For this reason, literature on the war is needed not only to confirm our heroic past, but also to enable this past, this feat of arms to live today and in the future as a spiritual strength, thereby helping to set a direction for new feats of arms in the new era of history: the era of successfully building socialism and maintaining our readiness to fight and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

FOOTNOTES

1. Pham Van Dong: "Ve van hoa--van nghe"[Culture-Art], Van Hoa Publishing House, Hanoi, 1972, p 389.

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THE VICTORY OF RACH GAM-XOAI MUT EXACTLY 200 YEARS AGO

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[Article by Van Tan]

[Text]- The victory of Rach Gam-Xoai Mut on 20 January 1785 was a major victory in the Vietnamese people's history of resistance against foreign aggression. Although it occurred 200 years ago, it is a victory still talked about today.

At that time, the Vietnamese feudal system was in decline. Domestic reactionary feudalists, headed by Nguyen Anh, having been toppled by the Tay Son movement and embarked on a course of betraying the fatherland, sought the assistance of Siam's army in order to retake Gia Dinh. The king of Siam, Chakri, who occupied the country of Chan Lap without firing a single shot, sought to use this opportunity to occupy Gia Dinh and take it from Vietnam. Chakri immediately ordered two nephews, General Chieu Tang and General Chieu Suong, to lead naval forces and General Chieu Chuy Bien to lead ground forces, a total of 50,000 men, in an attack on Gia Dinh.

In June, 1784, the naval forces of Siam commanded by Chieu Tang and Chieu Suong departed from Vong Cac, sailed down the Me Nam River to Bac Nom Bay and then crossed the Gulf of Thailand and attacked Ha Tien. Siam's ground forces commanded by Chieu Chuy Bien attacked Gia Dinh from Chan Lap.

The forces of Nguyen Anh opened the way for the invasion by Siamese forces. By July, 1784, Siamese forces had occupied Ba Xac, Tra On, Man Thit, Sa Dec...

By early November, 1784, the majority of the Tay Son forces had withdrawn to Saigon but their rear guard remained in My Tho. Siamese forces and the forces of Nguyen Anh not only controlled the three western provinces, but were also active in many areas of Dinh Tuong Province. From "Dai nam thuc luc chinh bien" we learn: "The ruthless forces of Siam engaged in plunder wherever they went and our people hated them very much."

In late November, 1784, having closely observed the activities of Siam's forces and actively prepared a strategic counter-offensive to drive the invaders from our country, Nguyen Hue led his forces to Saigon. Siamese forces and the forces of Nguyen Anh were stationed at Tra Tan at a position on

the right bank of the Tra Tan canal. Nguyen Hue sent a person of the Chan Lap nationality to the Siamese encampment with a peace offering, a bag of gold and silver. The Tay Son peace envoy said, in general, the following: "There is a dispute in my country between the former royal court (Nguyen Anh) and the new royal court (Tay Son). For what reason have you (Chieu Tang) come here from so far away? Take this as an offering of peace from my lord..." Chieu Tang accepted the offering, pretended to agree to make peace and gave the Tay Son envoy an offering of his own. However, he then agreed to rendezvous with Nguyen Anh on the night of 19 January 1785 to launch a full-scale attack to wipe out the Tay Son army. Chieu Tang said: "King, send your ships up the river first and attack the enemy ships; I will send my ships, both large and small, across the river and attack the enemy. Total victory will surely be ours"(from "Mac thi gia pha").(1)

Thus, Chieu Tang planned to launch a full-scale attack against the Tay Son army during the night of 19 January 1785, maintaining that it would take Nguyen Hue completely by surprise. However, Chieu Tang had no idea that Nguyen Hue already knew about his plan and had deployed forces at Rach Gam-Xoai Mut to ambush the enemy.

Somewhere between the fourth and fifth watch on the night of the 19th and 20th of January, 1785, once Siam's forces and the forces of Nguyen Anh had deployed themselves for combat, the warships of Tay Son advanced to challenge them. Chieu Tang immediately ordered Siam's forces and the forces of Nguyen Anh to launch the attack.

Since arriving in Kien Giang, the forces of Siam had advanced to occupy Tran Giang, Sa Dec, Long Ho, Man Thit, Ba Lai, Tra Tan and other places without meeting any significant resistance. This time, they thought that victory would be as easy to win as it had been on previous occasions. As soon as they opened their attack, the warships of Tay Son withdrew. The tide was ebbing swiftly through the Tieu and Dai estuaries. The Tay Son warships and the warships of the enemy were being carried down the My Tho River at a very rapid rate. In about one-half hour, the warships of Siam and Nguyen Anh entered the ambush position of the Tay Son forces along the My Tho River from Rach Gam to Xoai Mut. The Tay Son warships lying in ambush in the Xoai Mut canal suddenly sped into the My Tho River and, using cannons of all sizes and firearms, brought a hail of fire down upon the enemy's ships. From Rach Gam, other Tay Son warships moved into the My Tho River, closed off the river, making it impossible for the enemy to withdraw, and then opened fire with their heavy cannons and firearms on the enemy. From the northern bank of the My Tho river, from the Ba Kieu dune and the Bon thon dune, from the islet of Thoi Son, heavy guns and light weapons of the Tay Son forces directed withering fire against the now disorganized enemy warships. Tay Son naval and ground forces pressed the attack from all sides. More than 300 warships of Chieu Tang and Nguyen Anh were completely destroyed. Several thousand of Nguyen Anh's troops were captured or killed. "Dai nam thuc luc chinh bien" informs us that when Nguyen Anh fled to Tran Giang "no more than 10 persons accompanied him." Of the 50,000 Siamese troops, only a little more than 10,000 remained, they being the forces that were stationed far from the Rach Gam-Xoai Mut battlefield. Although never attacked, they ceased to exist as a

force because their fighting spirit collapsed in the face of the thundering blows delivered by the Tay Son forces on 20 January 1775 at Rach Gam-Xoai Mut.

The victory of Rach Gam-Xoai Mut on 20 January 1785 crushed the invasion and plans of expansion of the Siamese feudalists, inflicted upon Nguyen Anh and his forces the punishment that they deserved for their traitorous actions and once again liberated Gia Dinh, thereby safeguarding the national independence and territorial integrity of Vietnam.

It must be pointed out that when "Nguyen Anh embraced the serpent," the intervention by Siamese forces did pose a threat to the independence of our country at that time. The country was divided, chaos reigned and the people were living in poverty and misery. The feudal powers of Siam, disciples of the philosophy of Dai Thai, were constantly scheming to expand their territory and commit aggression against neighboring countries. After occupying Chan Lap in 1783, they began eyeing Vietnam. The Siamese army at that time was a significant armed force. It had been equipped with a number of weapons from the capitalist West. It had frequently violated Vietnamese territory and was accustomed to fighting in the terrain of rivers and canals found in the southern region of our country. Only a little more than 10 years prior to then, in 1771, some 20,000 Siamese marines attacked and occupied Ha Tien in Vietnam, an occupation marked by ruthless plunder and murder. This time, when agreeing to "help" Nguyen Anh fight the Tay Son army, Siamese forces already had a strategy. Making the fullest possible use of their offensive naval superiority, they attacked and occupied areas extending from the Gulf of Thailand to Tien Giang, consolidating their control wherever they attacked and strengthening their forces while waiting to wipe out the Tay Son partisan forces arriving from Quy Nhon as reinforcements. If the Tay Son partisan army commanded by Nguyen Hue had not inflicted a major defeat upon Siam's aggressor forces at Rach Gam-Xoai Mut, Gia Dinh would have become part of Siam. And, Siam's king Chakri would not have stopped at Gia Dinh, but very likely would have advanced to threaten the entire territory of Vietnam and the territory of the other countries in Southeast Asia.

The victory of Rach Gam-Xoai Mut on 20 January 1785 not only--according to "Dia nam thuc luc"--made the Siamese fear the Tay Son army like a tiger," not only shattered the forces of the master-servant Nguyen Anh, but also laid the groundwork for the Tay Son army, under the command of Nguyen Hue, to advance northward and defeat the Bac Ha feudal powers, reunify the country in 1786 and, 3 years later, in 1789, defeat the Min Qing aggressor army, thereby further consolidating the fatherland's independence and unity. In fact, because their hands had not been freed in the south, the Tay Son partisan army had to let the corrupt Trinh lords rule the country for a full 10 years from Thuan Hoa northward. Now, following the victory of Rach Gam-Xoai Mut, and the establishment of relative stability in the south, Nguyen Hue was able to launch a campaign to liberate Phu Xuan and then advance his forces to Thang Long, where he toppled the Trinh family. As a result of being united from north to south, when tens of thousands of Min Qing troops invaded our country in response to the request for assistance made by the traitorous king Le Chieu Thong, they immediately encountered the indomitable, unyielding strength of unity in the fight throughout the country, were wiped out completely and suffered a disgraceful defeat. Although Nguyen Anh, by acting at a time when

Nguyen Hue was attending to matters in Bac Ha, managed to come back and attack Gia Dinh again several years after the victory of Rach Gam-Xoai Mut, that victory did virtually put an end to the situation in which our country found itself, namely, being attacked by foreign aggressors at both ends--a preferred situation, a traditional tactic of aggression of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists against our country--so that our forces could be concentrated on Xun Taiyi. Therefore, it can be said that without the victory of Rach Gam-Xoai Mut in 1785, the victory of Dong Da on the morning of 5 January 1789 would have been impossible.

The victory of Rach Gam-Xoai Mut proved the great strength of our people in the South, who have always displayed deep patriotism, displayed heroism, supported the just cause and been worthy of being the southern bulwark of the fatherland. Prior to 1784, the people of Gia Dinh detested the reactionary feudal regime of the Nguyen lords and supported the Tay Son partisan army. As a result, the Tay Son partisan army succeeded in driving Nguyen Anh and his forces from the mainland on numerous occasions. When Siamese forces invaded Vietnam, especially after July, 1784, the people of Gia Dinh supported the Tay Son army even more actively, rallied to Tay Son's cause of national salvation and were prepared to arise and help block the aggressors and defend their homeland. As a result, when it needed to withdraw, the Tay Son army was able to preserve its forces. When it deployed its forces in ambush, it was able to do so in absolute secrecy and draw the enemy into its ambush position and wipe them out. Even persons who once supported Nguyen Anh, such as Le Xuan Giac, for example, came to recognize which cause was evil, which was just and even Nguyen Anh himself once lamented: "To win the country, you must win the hearts of the people..." ("Dai nam thuc luc chinh bien")

The victory of Rach Gam-Xoai Mut revealed the military genius of Nguyen Hue, the young general of the Tay Son army who, at the time, was only 32 years of age. The strategy and tactics he worked out were applied with great skill. The ambush position that he established was neither too large nor too small, rather, it was just large enough for 100,000 troops to move in easily on either side of the river. At either end of the ambush position were two canals in which warships lay in ambush. When the Tay Son warships moved from Xoai Mut as well as from Rach Gam into the My Tho River, the forces of the enemy were tightly encircled and had no way of escape. In addition, the ambush site was surrounded by dunes, such as the Ba Kieu dune and the Bon Thon dune, as well as islets, such as the Thoi Son Islet, which provided very good positions for the deployment of heavy cannons and firearms for use against the enemy. On the left bank of the My Tho River, from Rach Gam to Xoai Mut, Tay Son infantry forces, moving from the Ba Lai River, advanced along the stretch of river between the Ba Kieu and Bon Thon dunes and launched a surprise attack against the middle of the enemy formation. These elements of the campaign are further evidence of the brilliant military art of Nguyen Hue, who adopted a correct strategy, knew how to take advantage of opportunity and launch a bold and unexpected strategic strike, how to thoroughly organize his forces, attack with determination and strength, crush the joint Siamese-Nguyen force and win brilliant victory for the campaign. This year, we mark the 200th anniversary of the victory of Rach Gam-Xoai Mut in a situation in which our country is now independent, reunified and advancing to socialism following 30 years of an

heroic war against France and the United States but is now fighting Chinese expansionism.

We are proud of the nation's heroic tradition, of our people's great strength, of the strategic genius of our forefathers and have full confidence in the brilliant future of our country within the community of socialist countries, within the special alliance among the three countries of Indochina.

We desire to live in peace and friendship with all nations, with all neighboring countries. In its history, Vietnam has never once invaded Thailand. However, Thai ruling circles have committed aggression against Vietnam on many different occasions, not just the one time at Rach Gam-Xoai Mut. But all of these acts of aggression, whether they were organized by Thailand on its own or conducted at the request of big countries, including the sending of two Thai divisions to fight alongside U.S. forces and the supplying of bases for U.S. aircraft to use in attacks on Vietnam in the recent war of aggression against Vietnam or the present support being given to the Chinese expansionists, have met with tragic defeat.

History also records that since the 13th century, Siamese aggressor forces have annexed territory of and ruled practically every neighboring country and collaborated with the feudal and expansionist powers of China, with the British and French colonialists, with the Japanese militarists and with the U.S. imperialists in their aggression against and domination of many countries in Southeast Asia. Thailand is the only country in Southeast Asia with ambitions of expansionism and hegemony. Thailand has sent forces to invade Laos, Cambodia and other neighboring countries on many different occasions. Since 1975, Thailand has served as a base of support and competent tool of the Beijing expansionists, as the stronghold of the Pol Pot mass murderers and reactionaries in exile in their fight against the people of the three countries of Indochina. In these filthy wars of aggression and collaborative efforts, even the people of Thailand have been victims of the mistaken policy pursued by Thai reactionary ruling circles. The Vietnamese, as well as the peoples of Laos and Cambodia, always desirous of living in peace and friendship with the people of Thailand, stand ready to leave the burden of the past behind and look to the future. If Thailand continues to pursue its policy of collaborating with external powers in opposing the peoples of the three countries of Indochina, it will surely bring even heavier defeats upon itself.

The victory of Rach Gam-Xoai Mut exactly 200 years ago still holds lessons of major historical significance. While history never repeats itself, it does teach us that similar causes lead to similar results.

FOOTNOTES

1. Mac thi gia pha was the family register of the Mac family written by Vo The Vi, a lackey of Mac Tu Sinh. Vo The Vi joined and supported Nguyen Anh and was given the title of Marquis and appointed to the post of governor by Nguyen Anh.

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THE TRAITORS TO MARXISM UNMASK THEMSELVES

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[Article by Vu Tien]

[Text] Recently, PEOPLE'S DAILY Newspaper, the official organ of Chinese ruling circles, proclaimed that Marxism had become outmoded, that Marxism could not solve China's problems. With that, the fig leaf concealing the vile character of the Marxist impersonators was dropped by the Beijing authorities, revealing them to be the total traitors to Marxism that they really are. All manner of opinion has been expressed in the Western press. Some persons maintain that this is meant as a warning to those who are vehemently opposed to the reform policy of the Deng camp, meant to tighten the noose around their neck. And there are, of course, more than a few opponents of Deng's policy. However, Mr. Deng suffers from no lack of skill when it comes to punishing those who will not play along with him. Is it not he who, in the name of a "political purge," is viciously suppressing the opposition? There are also some who maintain that this is more a "tactical move" than the abandonment of Marxism from the standpoint of theory because Mr. Deng is still a "communist." This argument is without foundation. Because, the betrayal of Marxism by Beijing ruling circles has been evident for some time now and it was they who made this statement in their newspaper.

Their Betrayal of Marxism Is Not Something Recent

Beijing ruling circles betrayed Marxism long ago; however, throughout this process, they have cloaked themselves in Marxist-Leninist garb in order to deceive the world, especially deceive the people of their own country, so that they could conceal the fact that they were joining sides with the United States and the West in order to change the "color" of China toward a shade of capitalism and conceal their collaboration with the imperialists in the world in order to oppose the socialist countries, oppose the world revolutionary movement and achieve great Han expansionism and hegemony. Mr. Deng has often said: "Reality is the standard by which truth is measured." Thus, what is the reality in China today? As everyone knows, the so called "rural reforms" have been followed by the launching of a "revolution in the cities" by the 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Does this not prove that China is developing toward capitalism? This reality has made it impossible for Beijing ruling circles to continue to conceal the "truth"

that they have taken sides with the West. This same "reality" demands that they rapidly attract much capital and technology from the West to carry out their "four modernizations" and quadruple their gross national output by the end of this century. If, in view of the skepticism existing in the West, they continued to vaguely impersonate Marxists with one hand extended in a handshake and the other curled in a fist, the West would be reluctant to invest money in their friends in Zhongnanhai. Therefore, Beijing ruling circles had to tell the West in no uncertain terms that they are not Marxists at all, that they are determined to work hand in hand with them to gradually make China a capitalist country like the West. Only then would the West loosen its purse strings. Did not Hu Yaobang, the leader of the Communist Party of China, once say that the Chinese economy must have ties with the Western economy in order for modernization to be achieved?

Let us take a look back and see how this betrayal of Marxism by Beijing ruling circles has unfolded.

In 1949, China's democratic revolution won victory. The main base of that victory was not Yanan, even though no one will deny the large role that Yanan has played in the history of the Chinese revolution, but the Manchurian military base built with direct assistance from the Soviet Union following the defeat of Japan's East Asia Army by the Red Army in World War II. Immediately prior to the victory of the Chinese revolution, the Maoist group within China's leadership expressed indecision over which path to follow. When the People's Republic of China was founded, Mao Zedong advanced his "third road" theory, that is, the road between capitalism and socialism. It was only with the assistance of brothers and friends, most importantly the CPSU, that Mao's "new democracy" was basically socialist in character and the issue of making the transition from the democratic revolution to socialism was raised. Mao's petty bourgeois nationalist stand was pushed into the background and the stand of the Marxist-Leninist forces was maintained, thus leading to the victory of the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China in September, 1956. That congress established the line on building socialism in order to turn China into a developed socialist country with a modern industry and agriculture and confirmed that the country's foreign policy was one of closer fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, of struggling against imperialism, against the use of armed force in international relations.

However, following the congress, Mao Zedong and his group launched a bitter counter-attack. The Maoist leaders replaced proletarian internationalism with bigoted nationalism and abandoned the principles of scientific socialism and the general laws of socialist construction. Their domestic policy was one of economic adventurism characterized by the "great leap forward" and the "people's commune," which defied the economic laws of socialism and brought China's national economy to the brink of disaster: China's gross national product declined by 15 percent from 1958 to 1964. In its foreign policy, hiding behind "revolutionary" slogans of the far left, China severed all relations with the socialist countries. The Central Committee Plenum of the Communist Party of China held in August, 1966 established the line of waging "a relentless struggle against the Soviet Union," the pinnacle of which was China's invasion of the Soviet Union in March, 1969.

The "great cultural revolution" being carried out during this period truly became a universal tragedy, so much so that the mere mention of it arouses feelings of shame, disgust and anger, even among persons in China. It destroyed, in a horrible way, the gains that the Chinese had made during the first 10 years of building the country.

The foreign policy of China gradually "turned to the right." In 1971, Beijing established, and subsequently maintained, permanent contacts with the White House. The 10th Congress (1973) and the 11th Congress (1977) of the Communist Party of China made not one mention of the struggle against imperialism and confirmed China's line of moving closer to the countries of the West and increased hostility toward the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

By Betraying Marxism, Where Do They Seek To Lead China?

Under strong man Deng Xiaoping, the post-Mao period has been a period in which the political helm has been "shoved far to the right," a period marked by the so called 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee in 1978. During this period, especially in recent years, the upheavals of the "cultural revolution" have been overcome to some extent and China's situation has improved in some respects. However, it must be said that China's political and social situation is, from some perspectives, all of which deal with principle, worse than the situation that existed in China at the end of the first decade following the founding of the People's Republic of China. Deng Xiaoping is headed even farther down the road of economic ties with capitalism, of collaborating with imperialism in the international arena. The Chinese economy is drifting ever farther away from socialism. The strong development of private ownership and capitalist business methods has widely attracted capital from foreign capitalists, thereby giving the West the ability to influence China's political line. In particular, since the 12th Congress, the cadres and people of China have lost direction, have been experiencing a "crisis of confidence" and "ideological chaos" and "factional struggle has spread widely within the party and society.

Deng Xiaoping's "white cat, black cat" style of pragmatism has been thoroughly practiced. In a speech to representatives of overseas Chinese at a reception held on the 35th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Zhao Ziyang confirmed that "for the sake of the prosperity and development" of China, "we (that is, the leadership of China--V.T.) stand ready to implement any political guideline necessary to meet the requirements mentioned above. Conversely, we also stand ready to reject and will not be constrained by any model, by any resolutions or principles." It was not surprising that on the occasion of the recent celebration of China's National Day, they unfurled in the air over Tienanmen Square the likeness of a griffin, feeling no need whatsoever for "small birds in small cages, large birds in large cages." Did they not base their "rural reforms" on these very same principles? Through the so called production responsibility system, they "liberated" the peasants from the collective economy by turning over all cropland to them and encouraging them to make themselves wealthy and abandon the habit of feeling "red in the face," that is, feeling resentment toward those wealthier than they. More and more "tomato kings," "noodle kings"...and "rich guilds" have been emerging in the rural areas of China. Well to do

"specialist households" number in the millions. The October, 1984 issue of LIEU VONG Magazine reported: the number of motor vehicles belonging to the households specializing in transportation in Hebei Province has reached 1,309,000, which is far more than the number of motor vehicles in the province's state-operated transport sector. The specialist households in the provinces have strongly developed the practice of working fields under contract and have organized investment combines and private businesses not only in crop production, but also in forestry, livestock production, transportation and the services.

And, it is also on the basis of the principles mentioned above that they proposed the "urban revolution" and the recent (October, 1984) 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. This is an economic reform policy centered around the thinking of "building socialism that is colored Chinese," that is, "market socialism." Reporting on the results of that plenum, the 26 October 1984 issue of PEOPLE'S DAILY said that everything that had occurred in socialist construction prior to that plenum was based on "rigid models." The thinking behind the plenum's resolution is to limit the leadership role of the communist party and the legislative function of the state and broaden the authority of the enterprises and the regulatory role of the market. It is a kind of "socialism" that is closely tied to "the free market economy," to competition, to the price game, that is, to all the inherent phenomena of the capitalist mode of production. This approach is creating and will create a severe decentralization of property, social divisions, a clear "explosion" of the psychology of the small-scale, private owner and increased infiltration by capital from foreign capitalists accompanied by the capitalist way of life and morals. THE MIRROR Magazine of the Federal Republic of Germany, issue 42 (1984), wrote: "China is in the midst of consumer-mania and the government is encouraging material desires." Negative phenomena, such as inflation, unemployment, an increasingly unbalanced economy, divisions between rich and poor and pursuit of the lifestyle of consumerism are widespread, especially within the so called "special economic zones," where capitalism is unbridled. These reforms are clearly to the liking of capitalists; therefore, it is not surprising that this plenum was followed by a ringing endorsement from the West.

The "open door" policy is a part of their "Chinese colored socialism." If the policy on establishing centralized capitalist corporations is carried out in China in combination with many other factors, such as the impact of the coordination between the capitalist countries and China, the development of small-scale ownership and petty bourgeois spontaneity, Deng Xiaoping will achieve his dream of "putting a new face on China"(capitalist). And, in this regard, the 25 million overseas Chinese have had a considerable influence upon China's policy. This force of overseas Chinese has significant international ties and controls 140 billion dollars in capital.

Actually, however, Deng's doctrine is not as new or unique as Chinese propagandists describe it. It is nothing more than the "Sino-ization" of the theory on the convergence of socialism and capitalism advanced by such ideologues of imperialism as Pitirim Sorokin, Rostow and Brzezinski in the late 1950's and early 1960's. The purpose of this theory is to lay the political and ideological base for using the policy of peaceful coexistence

between the two social systems from the standpoint of international relations to sabotage socialism from within through "peaceful counter-revolutionary change." It seeks to turn the socialist countries into capitalist countries through the market economy, by "liberalizing" the social system and by sowing the seeds of political pluralism and ideological peaceful coexistence. On the occasion of the recent signing of the treaty with Great Britain on the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997, Deng Xiaoping repeated his "one state, two systems" formula, his formula for the coexistence of two socio-political systems within one nation. In essence, he was paving the way for the creation of "bases of capitalism" in China, for the creation of dozens of new Hong Kong's.

Sliding Farther Down the Path of Betrayal in Their Foreign Policy

The domestic and foreign policies of a country always go hand in hand. Whereas, in domestic policy, Beijing ruling circles have betrayed Marxism and charted a course toward capitalism, in foreign affairs, they have also implemented an extremely reactionary policy, the essence of which is big country expansionism and hegemony. The domestic economic reforms and the "four modernizations" program are closely tied to full-scale cooperation with imperialism, with demands upon the territory of neighboring countries, to plots to use force to impose their hegemony upon, even invade, neighboring countries.

Everyone knows what reactionary activities they have conducted against the three revolutionary currents of the world as they have gone about changing their friends into enemies since the 1960's. Deserving of attention is that although they have changed their tactics in recent years, the essence of their policy as a policy of expansionism and hegemony has never changed.

In the past, they established the global "anti-Soviet united front"; today, they have advanced the "two superpowers" theory. The pragmatic purpose of this theory is to use anti-Sovietism as a kind of foreign currency to pay the imperialists for the assistance and aid they provide for the "four modernizations" while using the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union to secure a position as one of the "three superpowers": China-the United States-the Soviet Union. A speech by a representative of Beijing shows: "China need only move closer to one of these two superpowers in order for us to take a harder line in our dialogue with the other." In practice, the "two superpowers" theory is directed against the Soviet Union and toward increased cooperation with the United States and the other imperialist countries in every respect, especially increased military cooperation. The frequent visits by military leaders of the two sides and the military agreements that have been signed, including the opening of Chinese ports to the ships of the U.S. 7th Fleet are concrete proof of this. In August, 1984, Hu Yaobang said to Western European leaders: "China is developing its relations with the United State because these relations are of important significance in maintaining China's security." So, the real purpose of military assistance from the U.S. imperialists is to provide for China's security! It is all too obvious just whom their "two superpowers" stand is directed against and whom it is designed to establish an alliance with.

Whereas Chinese ruling circles once rejected peaceful coexistence between countries with different socio-economic systems, they are today talking at great length about "the character of the relations between different countries not being dependent upon their different socio-economic systems." During a press conference held in Brussels on 6 July 1984, Zhao Ziyang confirmed that "countries that have different socio-economic systems frequently find it much easier to maintain good relations with each other... The relations between countries that have the same socio-economic system are frequently more complex and sometimes even openly hostile"!

Why have Chinese ruling circles made such a sharp turn? Their main motive has been to justify the reactionary stand they have taken in developing their relations with the capitalist countries by providing that they can stand apart from "the antagonisms between the two world social systems" and thereby defend their policy of moving closer to the imperialist countries. Their second motive is to embellish and extoll the foreign policy of the imperialist countries and intentionally gloss over the fact that it is, by its very nature, a policy of aggression, a policy of intervening in the internal affairs of other countries, a policy of imposing political rule, of economic exploitation, of ideological subjugation... Their third motive is to grossly distort the character of the relations between the socialist countries, maintaining that, instead of being relations based on internationalism, they can actually be relations of a hostile nature. This philosophy has led China to the point of rejecting the socialist system, even sending troops to invade a socialist country, such as our Vietnam.

Recently, Chinese ruling circles have tried to create the impression that they have fundamentally altered their stand on the issue of war and peace. They have stopped saying that "world war is inevitable" and now say that they observe the principle of peaceful coexistence and are concerned with safeguarding peace and improving the tense international situation. However, these are only words, nothing more, nothing less. By their actions, however, they have maintained a tense international situation, kept old hot spots alive and created new ones and sabotaged the constructive measures taken by the socialist countries to safeguard peace and achieve disarmament. Beijing's actions of encroaching upon our country's border, creating a tense situation along the Cambodia-Thailand and Laos-Thailand borders and provoking confrontation in Southeast Asia also prove that Beijing has never had a desire for peace. The "peace loving" declarations by Beijing are designed to do nothing more than give China time to strengthen itself militarily and economically. Proof of this is seen in the fact that China is intensely participating in the arms race, is searching far and wide for new military technologies, is strengthening its military ties with the countries of the West.

One important international activity of Beijing ruling circles must be given attention: their policy of differentiating among the countries within the socialist community. The purpose of this policy is to divide the socialist countries, to set one against the other, mainly to oppose the Soviet Union and Vietnam. They have divided the socialist countries in many different types. In a report delivered during the recent session of China's National Assembly, Zhao Ziyang called the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Romania and

Yugoslavia "socialist countries that have friendly relations with China" and said nothing at all about Mongolia, Laos and Cuba. The Soviet Union is considered a "superpower" that is threatening the security of China and Vietnam is considered a hostile country. This clearly shows the extremely reactionary character of Beijing ruling circles.

Our People Never Harbor Any Vague Illusions Regarding the Beijing Expansionists and Hegemonists

The betrayal of Marxism by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists is something of which our people have been fully aware for a long time. They have become the direct and mortal enemy of our people.

In the global strategy of the Beijing authorities, Vietnam is an important objective that must be conquered and annexed so that they can easily achieve their strategic interests, the interests of expansionism and hegemony. For this reason, as the document entitled "The Truth About Sino-Viet Relations" made public by our Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 4 October 1979 revealed, the Chinese reactionaries have betrayed our people three times.

After our people won total victory over the U.S. imperialists, they openly began pursuing a hostile policy toward Vietnam, a policy that has included military measures, the pinnacle of which was the two-pronged invasion of our country (one by proxy, one directly) from the south and the north in 1978 and 1979. An independent, unified, prosperous and strong Vietnam that charts an independent and autonomous course and pursues a correct international line is an major impediment to their global strategy, mainly to their policy of expansion in Southeast Asia.

Although they have tasted defeat, they have not yet learned any lessons. They have shifted their efforts to a wide-ranging war of sabotage against our people. They are waging a spy war in conjunction with a psychological war, waging a war of encroachment along our border in conjunction with acts of economic, political, cultural and other types of sabotage. The recent trial of the gang of Chinese and Thai spies in Ho Chi Minh City showed just how disgusting the enemy's face really is.

Our people know full well the black heart and every scheme and tactic of the enemy. Although their stratagems, tactics and maneuvers have changed to suit their pragmatic needs, the expansionist and hegemonist character of Beijing ruling circles has never changed. They absolutely are not disciples of Marxism-Leninism, of socialism.

It is regrettable that there are still some persons in the world who do not recognize this vile and dangerous character of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. They maintain, either unintentionally or intentionally that "China has changed"; therefore, normal relations can be established with China. There are even some persons within the communist movement who once heartily praised China's "cultural revolution" who now praise the current reforms in China as "unprecedented progress for China."

As the direct victims of Beijing's expansionism and hegemony, our people never harbor any vague illusions concerning them and are always vigilant, ready to thwart each of their schemes and actions.

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THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA ON THE ROAD TO DEVELOPMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 85 pp 85-88

[Article by Thanh Tin]

[Text] The people of India won self-rule from the British colonialists on 15 August 1947. However, the declaration of India as a dominion did not satisfy the majority of the country's people. The people of India waged a continuous struggle to make India a truly independent and sovereign country. As a result, on 26 January 1950, the Republic of India was founded. In their 35 years of building the country, the energetic and talented people of India have won large victories in many areas and changed the face of their country. Once a poor and backward colony, India has become an independent and united nation that has a developed economy, advanced science and technology, a solid national defense system and a culture and art that harmoniously combine the traditional and the modern. The international position of the Republic of India has constantly been enhanced. It stands in the front rank of the non-aligned and developing countries and has made significant contributions in the common struggle of progressive mankind for peace, national independence and social progress as well as for a new political, economic, cultural and information order in the world.

Our Indian friends often say that the most important, the most fundamental victory, a victory of historic significance, won by them over the past 40 years has been the emergence on the Indian subcontinent of a unified Republic of India, of a united Indian national entity that has brought more than 700 million persons together within a united nation, a nation in which they share a common destiny, a common future. We appreciate this great victory even more when we realize that, since ancient times in the land that is now India, there have been hundreds of large and small nationalities with very different languages, religions, customs and habits. Disputes among them have been common and their antagonism toward one another runs deep. During the nearly 200 years that they ruled India, the British colonialists practiced a "divide and rule" policy, setting one nationality against another, Hindus against Muslims, the cities against the countryside, one region against another and, within each region, they provoked opposition among the various nationalities, tribes, religions, etc.

The U.S. imperialists and Chinese expansionists and hegemonists have also exploited the antagonisms in India's past to provoke opposition among its various nationalities with a view toward shattering the united Indian national entity. In particular, they recently used a number of blind extremist elements among the Sikh in the Punjab State by supplying them with weapons and inciting them to rise up and occupy the Golden Temple of the followers of the Sikh religion in the town of Amritsar, demanding to secede from the unified country of India. To the joy of all the people of India, including large numbers of Sikhs, their plot was exposed and their counter-revolutionary activities were decisively suppressed. All Indians consider the consolidation of the united Indian national entity, an entity of close union within a single large family--the Republic of India--to be their sacred aspiration. National unity is the greatest gain that the people of India and the Indian state are determined to protect and consolidate, a gain that no imperialist, colonialist, expansionist or reactionary power can reverse.

In ~~its~~ efforts to build a prosperous and powerful country, India has successfully carried out six 5-year plans and will begin its seventh 5-year plan in 1985. The famous "green revolution" has been successfully carried out through the widespread application of the latest scientific and technical achievements within agriculture by selecting high yield wheat and wet rice varieties, building water conservancy projects, improving the soil and introducing machinery and electricity in agriculture. Once a country in which the vast majority of the population was peasants who lived in chronic poverty and hunger, a country in which tens of millions of persons a year sometimes died from starvation, India has successfully resolved the problem of supplying grain to all of society, built increasingly large grain reserves to guard against unforeseen natural disasters and is able to assist its neighbors and friends. Today, India is one of the countries that leads the world in rice and wheat production.

Attention has also been given to the livestock sector. Scientific research in support of livestock production has focused on the cross breeding of domestic and foreign breeds with a view toward raising livestock yields. India has protected and vigorously developed dairy cattle and buffalo herds throughout the country, attached importance to selecting breeds with high milk yields, organized a good daily milk delivery system for the cities and towns and successfully carried out a very unique program in agriculture, the so called "white revolution."

The industrialization of the country, which began in the late 1950's, has yielded major results. Once a colony that specialized in supplying raw materials to the British empire, a country whose industry was stagnated and crippled, a country in which only the textile industry was developed to any degree, the India of today annually produces more than 10 million tons of iron and steel, 140 million tons of coal and 35 million tons of petroleum. India's electric power plants have a total capacity of nearly 40 million kilowatts. India has a diversified and highly developed machine industry, an outstanding electronic and microelectronic industry, an atomic industry that is developing rather strongly... India produces automobiles, busses and trucks, diesel and electric powered locomotives, railroad passenger and freight cars, ocean vessels and aircraft and also produces satellites and satellite launchers.

The atomic energy sector is also being developed, the foremost objective being to serve peaceful purposes. India's atomic research centers, shipyards, military submarine construction facilities and highly sophisticated electronic and microelectronic plants leave the visitor to India with profound impressions regarding the level of industrialization of this country filled with potential.

One characteristic of the Indian economy has been the steady development of the state economy. The majority of the key industrial sectors, such as the iron and steel sector, the thermoelectric and hydroelectric power sectors, the atomic energy sector, sea and air transportation, the large chemical plants, coal mines and so forth are owned by the state. The state attaches very much importance to strengthening, expanding and developing the basic units of the state-operated economy, which are viewed as the foundation of the country's independent, autonomous industry, as occupying the dominant position within the national economy, as serving the function of guiding the private economy in the direction of supporting the overall economy and the common life of society. The portion of the gross social product produced by the state economy rose from 8 percent in 1960-1961 to 29 percent in 1977-1978. A collective economy has formed and developed in the countryside and within the sectors of small industry and the handicraft trades and assumed many different forms: agricultural production cooperatives, credit cooperatives and marketing cooperatives in the countryside, small industry cooperatives, fishing cooperatives, livestock production cooperatives, etc.

The efforts by India to industrialize the country, mobilize and utilize the technical and manual labor of the entire country in a planned manner, gradually eliminate the social inequities, the pervasive illiteracy, the chronic hunger and the long problems of unemployment inherited from the past and from the colonial system in the country that has the second largest population in the world...set an example of a will to struggle and work in the spirit of self-reliance and have awakened and brought every potential of the nation to the task of building a prosperous and powerful country. Jawaharlal Nehru, the distinguished leader of the Indian people, the farsighted architect of modern India--as our Indian friends often refer to him--frequently said that India had studied and applied some of the experiences of the Soviet Union, particularly the soviet countries in Central Asia, in its development, especially its experiences in industrialization, in the implementation of 5-year plans, in the building of a large and strong state-operated economy, in collectivization within agriculture...

The Vietnamese rejoice over the great achievements recorded by the fraternal people of India over the past 35 years. Our joy has been made even more intense by the bright expressions of the lasting friendship and cooperative relations between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Republic of India, which President Ho Chi Minh and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru worked so hard to establish and strengthen and are being expanded in many fields through the fine results of the official visit of friendship to India in September 1984 by the general secretary of our party, Le Duan, at the invitation of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. We share with our Indian friends their feeling of profound grief over the death of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the great leader of the people of India, the great friend of the people of Vietnam. We

are excited to learn that Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has confirmed that he will pursue a political line and foreign policy consistent with those of former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, strengthen his country's friendship with the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the other socialist countries and resolutely guide the non-aligned movement toward the objectives of opposing imperialism, colonialism, expansionism and hegemony, opposing the arms race and firmly maintaining peace in the world.

Vietnam and India share many similarities. Both countries were ruled and exploited by old style colonialism, both fought and liberated themselves. Both countries have the same mortal enemies. The U.S. imperialist, who committed aggression in Vietnam, are controlling the Indian Ocean and supporting the Pakistan authorities and reactionaries in their efforts to undermine the stability of India. The Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, who are waging a wide-ranging war of sabotage against our country, are encroaching upon and shelling areas along our country's northern border, are also the ones who have obstinately occupied more than 60,000 square kilometers of India's territory. In the common struggle for peace, national independence and social progress, the Vietnamese and the Indians have continuously supported and assisted each other and closely cooperated with each other. The Vietnamese are deeply grateful to the people and government of India because, as Le Duan said during his visit to India in September, 1984: "In the two wars of liberation that we fought as well as in the construction and defense of our fatherland today, the Vietnamese have received wholehearted support and assistance from the fraternal people of India..."

On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of India's Republic Day, we sincerely wish the people of India success as they continue, on the basis of the victories they have won, to constantly struggle to make the Republic of India a modern, prosperous and happy country and make increasingly worthy contributions to the cause of safeguarding peace in Asia and the world.

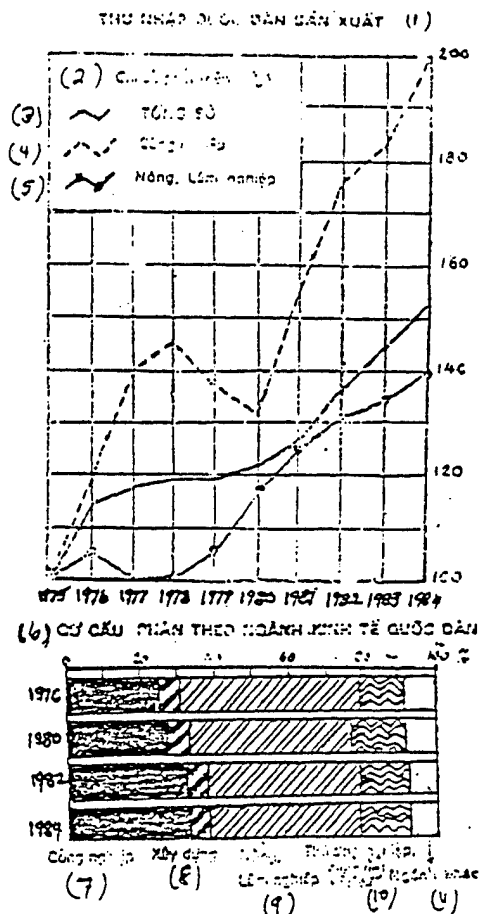
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GRAPHS SHOW GROWTH OF NATIONAL INCOME

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 85 inside back cover

[Text]



1. National income from production
2. Index of growth (%)
3. Total
4. Industry
5. Agriculture, forestry

6. National income broken down by sector of the national economy
7. Industry
8. Construction
9. Agriculture, forestry
10. Commerce, material supply
11. Other sectors

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DRAWING DEPICTS VIETNAM'S THREE REVOLUTIONS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 85 outside back cover

[Drawing by Duong Anh]

[Caption] The January, 1985 issue of TAP CHI CONG SAN concludes with a drawing on the outside back cover depicting four persons representing four different walks of life. Against a background scene consisting of farm fields, fishing boats bobbing at sea and an oil rig, the four are crossing from left to right in a group. They are: a young male soldier wearing eyeglasses and a helmet and carrying what appears to be a mortar tube on his right shoulder; a young, male manual worker wearing gloves, work clothing and a hat and carrying a tool, possibly a welding rod, in his right hand and a cylindrical object on his left shoulder; a school girl with an open book in her left hand; and a young woman carrying a tray of rice seedlings in her outstretched hands. Above the quartet is the emblem of the hammer and sickle surrounded by a circle of six equidistant stars. Orbiting the three pairs of stars opposite each other are the words: "The production relations revolution," "the ideological and cultural revolution" and "the scientific-technological revolution, the key." The caption to this drawing reads: "Promoting the Three Revolutions."

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